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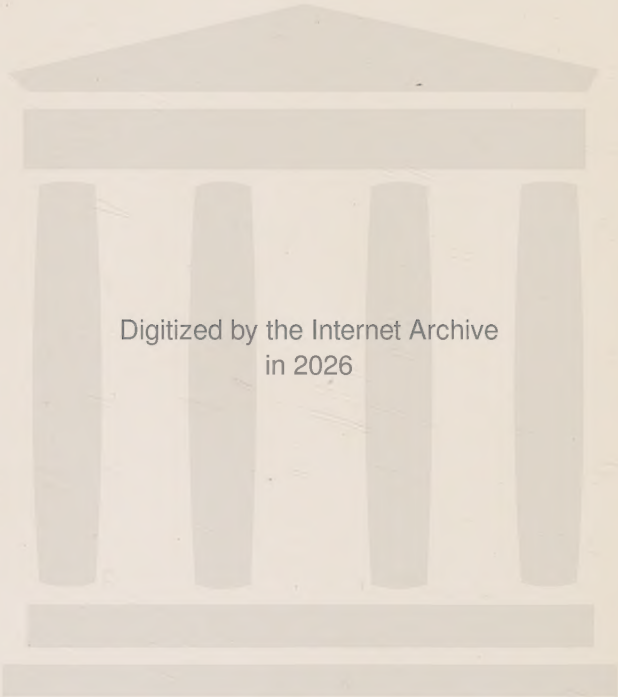

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Men of the Signal Corps observing the movements of the enemy.

From a drawing by F. C. Yohn.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS

LATE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY

WITH 650 ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOLUME VI.

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PERIOD VII

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW CENTURY

1902–1912

(*Continued*)

CHAPTER VII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT TAFT

MARCH 4, 1909, proved so stormy that Mr. Taft, departing from the custom of delivering the inaugural address at the east end of the Capitol, spoke in the Senate chamber. His speech was temperate in tone, and chiefly notable for his assertion that the most important feature of his administration would be the maintenance and enforcement of the reforms begun by his predecessor.

The Cabinet was made up of men largely gathered from private life, a majority of them being comparatively unknown to the public. Philander C. Knox was United States Senator from Pennsylvania when he was appointed Secretary of State. He had served as Attorney-General in Presi-

dent McKinley's cabinet and also in that of Roosevelt. Franklin MacVeagh, of Illinois, who was made Secretary of the Treasury, had been prominent as a merchant in Chicago and active in public affairs. Mr. MacVeagh and Jacob M. Dickinson, who became Secretary of War, were both members of the Democratic party. By inviting Democrats to become members of his political family, President Taft desired to give recognition to the fact that he had been elected by Democratic votes and had received substantial support in parts of the South. Mr. Dickinson was also from Chicago. The Secretary of the Navy, George von L. Meyer, of Massachusetts, had served as ambassador to Russia,

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President William H. Taft and Governor Hughes on the reviewing stand at the inauguration, March 4, 1909.

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Reading from left to right: President Taft. Franklin MacVeagh, Sec'y of the Treasury. George W. Wickersham, Attorney-General. George von L. Meyer, Sec'y of the Navy. Philander C. Knox, Sec'y of State. James Wilson, Sec'y of Agriculture. Charles Nagel, Sec'y of Commerce and Labor (above). Jacob M. Dickinson, Sec'y of War (below). Frank H. Hitchcock, Postmaster-General. Richard A. Ballinger, Sec'y of the Interior.

President Taft and Cabinet, 1909.

and later as Postmaster-General during Mr. Roosevelt's administration. Frank H. Hitchcock, of Ohio, who was made Postmaster-General, had served as First Assistant Postmaster-General. George W. Wickersham, an attorney of good standing in New York City, was appointed Attorney-General. Richard A. Ballinger, of Seattle, who had been Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1907–1909, was appointed Secretary of the Interior. James Wilson, of Iowa, who had served as Secretary of Agriculture since 1897, was continued in that office. Charles Nagel, a noted lawyer of St. Louis, was made Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

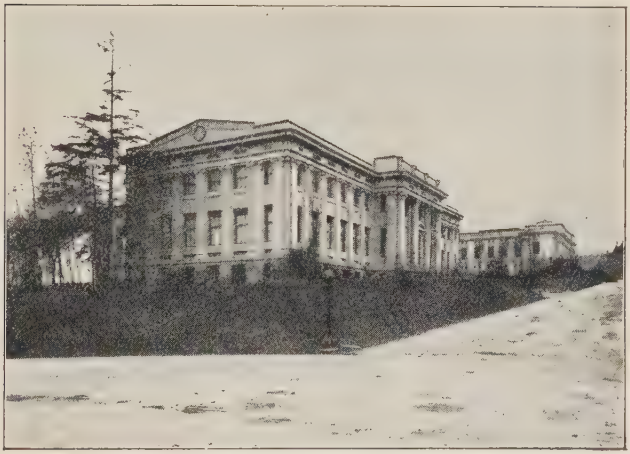
With the beginning of the new administration the President's salary was increased to $75,000 a year; that of the Vice-President to $12,000; and members of the Cabinet to $12,000.

From June 1 to October 15 there was held at Seattle the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. The rapid growth of Seattle has been due in no small degree to the fostering of trade with Alaska. The exhibits

served to demonstrate the wisdom of the purchase of the territory, which at that time was characterized as Seward's "folly." Alaska had for some years been recognized as a country of wealth and opportunity. The gold output each year was more than three times the sum paid Russia for the territory. About one-fifth of the gold produced in the United States came from Alaskan mines. Products amounting to $33,500,000 were shipped to the States from Alaska during the year 1907, and the return trade for that year amounted to $19,500,000. The value of the fishery products was five-sevenths as great as the output of the gold mines. Alaskan coal-fields are estimated to be even richer than her gold deposits. Other productions of the territory are silver, tin, lead, quicksilver, graphite, marble, lumber, grains, vegetables, and fruits.

The purpose of the exposition was declared to be "to exploit the resources and potentialities of the Alaskan and Yukon territories; to make known and foster the

vast importance of the trade of the Pacific Ocean and of the countries bordering thereon, and to demonstrate the marvellous progress of Western America." The energy and determination of the men of the new



The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, Seattle.
The Palace of Fine Arts.

Northwest was well shown in the preparation made for the exposition. No financial assistance was asked from the Federal Government. The necessary $10,000,000 were contributed almost entirely in Seattle and the State of Washington. One million dollars were expended by Seattle, as a pre-

paratory step, on her municipal improvements.

The site of the exposition was the campus of the State University, between Lakes Washington and Union. From the grounds, notable for their natural beauty, were visible in the distance Mount Rainier, one of the loftiest peaks in the United States, the snow-covered Olympics to the west, and the Cascade range to the east.

Three permanent buildings were erected by the State of Washington with the understanding that they were afterward to be used by the university. In the forestry building, which was 320 feet long and 140 feet broad, and built of logs in the rough, there were displayed the timber resources of Alaska and the Northwest. An outdoor farm illustrated the agricultural resources of the region. The Japanese exhibit was second only in interest to that of Alaska. The exposition served to demonstrate, as it was intended to do, the possibilities for the investment of capital in the Northwest and the opportunities for those seeking new homes.

Beginning with September 25 and continuing throughout the first week of October, there was a notable celebration in New York City, and in other cities on the

The Hudson-Fulton Celebration. The Clermont proceeding up the Hudson River under her own steam.

Hudson, commemorative of the discovery of that river by Henry Hudson three centuries before and the trip up the river by Robert Fulton's steamboat in 1807. The leading feature of the pageant was the assembling in the harbor of the largest fleet of international character ever brought together at one time, and the cruise up the

Hudson as far as Newburg of eighty war-vessels selected from the navies of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, and other powers. These huge vessels were in striking contrast to the two small ones which were given the place of honor in the pageant, the replicas of the Half Moon and the Clermont. The land parades were likewise spectacular in their effects.

In October, 1909, Commander Robert E. Peary and Dr. Frederick A. Cook, two American travellers, returned to the United States, both making claims to having discovered the North Pole. The accomplishment of this task, which had baffled so many arctic explorers, was hailed as a triumph throughout the civilized world. Ardent supporters of each of these men began to champion the right of their favorite to the great honor. It was shown that Commander Peary had for twenty-three years been engaged in arctic exploration. His first voyage was made to Greenland in 1886, and in his numerous expeditions to

the frozen north since that time he had secured much scientific data relating to the glaciology, geology, and ethnology of those regions.

When Commander Peary, on February

Commander Peary's ship, The Roosevelt.

22, 1909, left the Roosevelt, the ship which bore him as far north as navigation permitted, his expedition consisted of 8 white men, 59 Eskimos, 140 dogs, and 23 sledges, with the necessary equipment for arctic travel, but only Peary himself, his negro body servant, Matthew Henson, and 4

Eskimos reached the Pole. Upon returning to the United States after overcoming the many dangers incident to such exploration, Peary submitted his records to the National Geographical Society. A committee of that body, after passing upon these documents, declared unanimously that Peary had reached the North Pole, April 6, 1909.

Before his return to civilization, Dr. Cook had been hailed as the discoverer of the North Pole by European scientists, especially those of Denmark, who accepted his story of the accomplishment of this task in April, 1908, one year earlier than the date of Peary's discovery. Many honors were conferred upon him when he reached Copenhagen, September 4, 1909. He was met by the Crown Prince of Denmark and the American minister, and by explorers, professors, and scientists from various European countries. He was greatly honored also upon his return to New York City.

Commander Peary declared that the claims made by Dr. Cook were without

foundation. His decision was based on the evidence given by two Eskimos who had accompanied Dr. Cook, and who asserted that the party went only a two days' jour-

Commander Robert E. Peary, and three of his Eskimo dogs, on the Roosevelt.

ney north from Cape Hubbard and were never beyond the land ice. Further evidence of deception by Dr. Cook was set forth by Edward M. Barrill, who had accompanied him on his pretended ascent of Mount McKinley in 1906. This guide declared that Dr. Cook had not reached

the summit of that mountain as claimed, but that the records had been falsified. Later, a commission was appointed by the University of Copenhagen to examine the

Photograph by Brown Bros., N. Y.

Dr. F. A. Cook on his arrival in New York, September 21, 1909.

notes and memoranda submitted to them by Dr. Cook. After a careful examination of these documents, the commission reported that they found no evidence sufficient to warrant the belief that Dr. Cook actually reached the North Pole.

Soon after Taft was inaugurated his pred-

ecessor sailed for the wilds of East Africa, in order to satisfy his fondness for natural history and big-game hunting. Colonel Roosevelt took with him his son Kermit and a staff of scientists from the Smithsonian Institution. For many months they remained in the remote interior hunting and collecting specimens and having great success in shooting lions, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, elephants, and other big game. Meanwhile, President Taft was left free to make or mar his administration, untroubled by suggestions or dictation from his former chief.

The task that confronted him was harder than it seemed. Even during Roosevelt's presidency there existed within the Republican party a progressive and a conservative wing. The progressives were enthusiastic in support of the Roosevelt policies, and would bitterly oppose any faltering in upholding them. The conservatives, who were more powerful than numerous, disliked those policies and wished to put an end to them. Taft wished to

retain the support of both wings and sought to steer a middle course between them, but he ultimately lost the support of the progressives and fell into the arms of the conservatives.

For a period of twelve years there had been no tariff legislation. The great industrial changes which went on during that time made a revision of the Dingley Tariff imperative. Although there had been a constant demand for revision, the tariff played no part in the campaigns of 1900 and 1904. The demand had become insistent, however, during recent years, and may be attributed in part to the increased cost of living. This demand, made chiefly by the wage-earners and salaried men, was seconded from another quarter. The attitude of foreign nations toward our goods made it increasingly difficult for American manufacturers to dispose of their surplus. Wages had risen; the price of raw material was higher, and both affected the manufacturer. Foreign nations refused to accept our high tariffs without retalia-

tion, and this made the manufacturer insist that Congress revise the objectionable Dingley Act.

The agitation took definite form during the session of 1907–8 when the National Manufacturers' Association undertook to secure legislation designed to create a tariff commission composed of experts whose business it should be to ascertain the facts concerning the condition of manufacturers and the necessity of a new tariff. Pursuant to this the Beveridge Tariff Commission Bill was introduced into the Senate, but the leaders of both houses—Cannon, Aldrich, Payne, and others—said bluntly that it was bad politics to take the question up just before a presidential campaign, and nothing was done. The demand grew more insistent, and the

Copyright by Clinedinst, Washington.
Albert J. Beveridge, Senator from Indiana.

wary leaders learned in time that it would be good politics at least to declare for tariff revision.

The Republican platform of 1908 pledged the party to make a revision of the tariff, the work to be done by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President. The true principle of all tariff legislation was declared to be "the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries." Nothing was said in the platform as to whether revision would be up or down, but in speeches made in the campaign Mr. Taft said that revision would be downward.

Soon after his inauguration Taft summoned Congress to meet in special session on March 15. The House of Representatives re-elected as Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois. Mr. Cannon belonged to the conservative wing of the Republican party and by virtue of the power of his

position exercised a dominant influence over the procedure of the House. The Senate also was dominated by a knot of conservative Republicans, one of the main leaders being Nelson A. Aldrich, of Rhode Island. With the principal committees of both houses in control of men fully committed to the dogma of extremely high protection, the chance for downward revision was slight and could be brought about only by presidential influence. But President Taft took the view at this time that the executive ought not to dictate to the legislative branch and merely used his influence in a mild way.

A tariff measure known as the Payne Bill was presently passed by the House by a vote of 217 to 161. The Finance Committee of the Senate, to which the bill was referred when it reached the Senate, instead of reporting it, reported a substitute measure—the Aldrich Bill. This the House refused to accept and the usual conference committee was organized, out of which committee came the compromise Payne-

Aldrich Bill, destined to become law through the President's signature, August 5, 1909.

The debate in the Senate was a noteworthy one. The progressive senators of the Middle West, led by Dolliver, of Iowa, and La Follette, of Wisconsin, fought the measure sturdily, but with little success. "Jokers" slipped in here and there, and more than one critic charged that the Senate was less solicitous for the rights of the consumers than for the rights of the "interests."

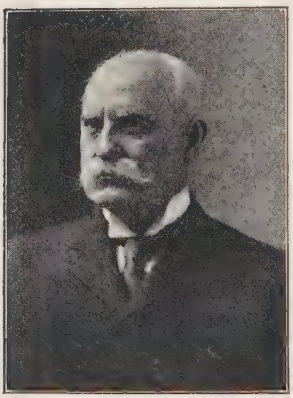
Several schedules came in for severe criticism. In the cotton schedule the increased rates laid upon certain classes of cotton goods seem to have been imposed for the benefit of New England manufacturers. These rates affected articles used by every person in the United States. Most of these articles were manufactured from raw material produced in America, and the cost of manufacturing the staple articles was but slightly higher than in any of the important competing countries. The aver-

age rate imposed by the Dingley Tariff, according to the Bureau of Statistics, was 38 per cent on cotton cloth and similar rates on other cotton goods. Since 1897 the "infant industries" had grown, and some had in recent years declared dividends of 66 per cent per annum. The Payne-Aldrich Bill increased the average rate on cotton goods from 44.84 per cent in the Dingley Tariff to 50.62 per cent. The increases were not so much on the high-priced goods as on the cheaper grades.

In the case of the wool schedule the object of criticism was the discrimination against the carded woollen industry, which produces the poor man's cloth, in favor of the worsted industry. This was due to the imposition of a uniform duty of eleven cents per pound on raw, unwashed wool, by which some cheaper woollens were taxed as high as 500 per cent, and frequently amounted to less than 25 per cent on the finer grades. Based on this system of duties was a graded scale in which the rates rose in an inverse ratio with the value of

the goods. Some duties were lowered, but the change was slight. The schedule remained nearly the same, but the burden had shifted.

There were reductions—more, numerically, than increases—but the reductions were effectively modified by shifted classifications.



Photograph by Clinedinst, Washington.
Senator Nelson W. Aldrich.

One thinker of note termed the "maximum and minimum" clause "the highest practical joke of the whole bill." Little was said of this clause except in connection with the "minimum." It must be remembered that there was also a "maximum," and it did not augur well for the consumer. Suppose a foreign nation discriminated against our goods; we, acting on the "maximum" theory, discriminated against theirs, and the result was that the consumer paid

the value of the article plus the amount of the tariff of discrimination, since it has ever been true that the limit in price is the top of the tariff wall.

A noteworthy feature of the bill was the provision for the formation of a Tariff Board, composed of experts, who should conduct investigations with the view of evolving a scientific tariff. The board had little power save that of advising the President in the application of the "maximum and minimum" clause.

Twenty Republican Representatives and seven Republican Senators denounced the bill and refused to vote for it. President Taft confessed that the woollens schedule was unsatisfactory, but in a speech made at Winona, Minnesota, in September, 1909, he pronounced the act, as a whole, to be the best tariff law ever enacted. A great section of the people, including multitudes of Republicans, refused to accept this view of the matter.

The "insurgents" who revolted against the Payne-Aldrich Bill were for the most

part men who had been ardent supporters of the Roosevelt policies. Their number was soon increased by a scandal in the Department of the Interior. The head of this department, Richard A. Ballinger, of Seattle, had formerly been attorney for the "Cunningham claims" to rich coal deposits in Alaska. Many people believed these claims to be fraudulent and that they formed part of a scheme of the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate—popularly known as the Morganheims—to seize the rich natural resources of Alaska. Among those who believed the claims to be fraudulent were Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot and Messrs. Price, Glavis, and Shaw of the same service. All these men were officials in the Department of the Interior, and hence were subordinates of Ballinger. Believing that Ballinger was unfriendly to conservation and was betraying the public interests, they ignored bureaucratic red tape and appealed over Ballinger's head directly to President Taft and also to the people. Taft unfortunately decided they

were guilty of insubordination and dismissed them from the service, while at the same time he declared his confidence in Ballinger.

The quarrel caused a great uproar, and many newspapers and magazines with progressive sympathies upheld Pinchot and his associates and attacked Ballinger. As Pinchot was one of the most highly respected men in the country the controversy reacted strongly against the administration. Later it became definitely known that the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate held options on many of the Cunningham claims, all of which, it may be added, were finally held by the courts to be void, thus sustaining Pinchot's stand. The attacks on Ballinger continued, and, though he was "whitewashed" by a congressional investigating committee, he finally resigned (March 6, 1911).

Despite his course in the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy, Taft remained a true friend to the policy of conservation. To the vacancies created by the dismissal of

Pinchot and his associates the President appointed loyal conservationists, and he also secured the passage of legislation providing for forest reserves in the White Mountains and the Appalachians, and he withdrew from entry many million acres of water-power sites and of petroleum, coal, and mineral lands.

But the gulf that had been opened in the Republican ranks by the Payne-Aldrich Act and by the Ballinger scandal could not be closed. Before a year of Taft's administration had passed, and while his predecessor was still in the jungles of Africa, keen political observers were saying that the Republican party was facing the most serious crisis in its history.

The crisis was all the graver because the period was one of unrest, of striving for things unattained, in some cases perhaps unattainable. Men were not only demanding industrial and social reforms, but some were contending that our whole political system, including even the federal Constitution, needed overhauling. Criticism

of the courts was wide-spread. Some even fairly conservative people asserted that they were dilatory, were often swamped by technicalities, were hide-bound by precedent, served too often as bulwarks of special privilege, were inclined to give too much weight to property rights and too little to human rights.

All over the country, but particularly in the West, there was a wide-spread belief that ultraconservative and even reactionary influences too often controlled courts, executives, and legislative bodies. It was openly charged that "government by the people" had become a fiction in the country. A strong demand developed for more "direct government." Four devices for thwarting the designs of political "bosses" and special interests were regarded as especially promising: namely, primary elections, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. The primary election was adopted in many States, and the initiative, referendum, and recall in a number of States, mostly those in the West.

As a routine executive Taft was reasonably successful. The ordinary business of administration was conducted with ability and honesty. In the Post-Office Department, for example, better business qualities were displayed than perhaps ever before, and what had been a large deficit was transformed into a surplus. It was in "forward" measures that the administration failed to please the progressively inclined.

At first, however, the main wrath of progressive Republicans fell not upon Taft but upon the coterie of conservative Republicans who controlled Congress. These men had arrogated to themselves practically all legislative power. In the House, for example, Speaker Cannon and his fellow stand-patters controlled procedure so thoroughly that Republican members who were not in sympathy with them often found it impossible even to obtain the floor in order to speak, much less to obtain favorable committee assignments or to forward bills in which they were interested. After frequent skirmishes a number of "in-

surgent" Republican members, headed by Norris of Nebraska and Murdock of Kansas, combined with the Democratic minority and wrested control from Cannon and his fellow stand-patters. Cannon was permitted to retain the speakership, but he was deprived of the power of appointing committees, and his authority was otherwise circumscribed.

Meanwhile, the country was curious to learn what the attitude of ex-President Roosevelt would be when he returned from Africa. In the spring of 1910 Colonel Roosevelt, his son Kermit, and other members of his party returned to civilization by way of Lake Victoria and the Nile River. At historic Khartoum he was met by many newspaper men, and thenceforth his journey was a triumphal procession. In Italy he was met by his friend Gifford Pinchot, and from him the ex-President doubtless learned something of the course of politics at home and particularly about the Ballinger scandal. In Europe he was greeted with enthusiasm by people and royalty

alike, delivered a series of notable addresses that received world-wide attention, and represented the United States at the funeral

Colonel Roosevelt delivering an address at Oxford University.

of King Edward VII. On June 18, 1910, he reached New York City and was accorded a tremendous popular ovation. In a speech made upon landing he said he was

Part of the ovation given Colonel Roosevelt on his arrival in New York City, June 18, 1910.

eager to do his part in helping to solve the problems that must be solved if the destinies of the republic were to "rise to the high level of our hopes and its opportunities. This is the duty of every citizen, but it is peculiarly my duty, for any man who has ever been honored by being made President of the United States is thereby, forever after, rendered the debtor of the American people."

Upon the subject of the split in the Republican party he was long discreetly silent, but it was noticed that his relations with the Taft administration were slight, and that in speeches and in articles written as associate editor of *The Outlook* he advocated progressive measures. In response to a wide-spread popular demand he took an active part in the State and congressional campaign of 1910, and in New York wrested control of the party organization from the reactionary Barnes machine. He also made a long speaking tour in other States, directing his efforts mainly in favor of "insurgent" candidates, and, it was

noticeable, refraining from saying much in praise of the Taft administration.

At Ossawatomie, Kansas, at a celebration in honor of John Brown, he delivered a notable address in which he set forth his doctrine of "New Nationalism." After advocating conservation, tariff revision, a graduated income tax, labor legislation, direct primaries, recall of elective officers, and other reforms, he urged that the federal power must be increased in order to meet the needs of the times. He particularly urged the elimination of what he had long been calling "the twilight zone" between State and federal authority, which served "as a refuge for law-breakers, and especially for law-breakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach the way to avoid both jurisdictions."

The Democrats entered the campaign of 1910 with high hopes and fought vigorously. They were greatly aided by Republican discontent, and for the first time since 1892 they swept the country, carry-

ing not only the South but also such States as Indiana, New Jersey, Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In the House of Representatives they secured a majority of over sixty, and they greatly reduced the Republican majority in the Senate. Political observers noticed that progressive Republican candidates usually fared better than did the stand-patters, many of whom were beaten in the election or in the conventions or primaries that preceded it. For the first time a Socialist was elected to Congress, in the person of Victor L. Berger, who was returned to the House by the city of Milwaukee.

Believing that the Payne-Aldrich Act was one of the main causes of Republican defeat, President Taft set the Tariff Board to work collecting information for use in some future revision of the tariff schedules and he also negotiated a reciprocity pact with Canada (January, 1911). This agreement provided that our duties on such Canadian products as live stock, fish, lumber, wood-pulp, and paper should be abol-

ished or lowered, while Canada should make corresponding reductions on American agricultural implements and other commodities. Many Republicans opposed the pact, and Taft used strong executive influence to force through the House a bill embodying the terms of the agreement. The Sixty-first Congress expired before a vote could be taken in the Senate, but in a special session of the new Sixty-second Congress most of the Democratic members supported the measure, and it finally passed both houses after a long and bitter fight. In September, 1911, however, a general election was held in Canada to ascertain the attitude of the voters on the question, with the result that the Laurier Government, which had negotiated the agreement, was badly defeated. The whole effort, therefore, came to naught.

Despite these and other failures, the Taft administration could point to a number of constructive achievements. New Mexico and Arizona were admitted to statehood, numerous arbitration treaties

were concluded with foreign powers, a postal-savings system and a parcels-post were established. A Sixteenth Amendment authorizing the levying of an income tax without the necessity of apportioning it

Assorting parcels-post mail for various States.

among the States according to population was ratified by a sufficient number of States and was proclaimed a part of the Constitution (February 25, 1913). A Seventeenth Amendment providing for the election of Senators by popular vote instead of by the legislatures became a part of the Consti-

tution on the last day of the following May.

An act providing for the publicity of campaign funds in federal elections became a law in August, 1911. According to the act no candidate for the House of Representatives may spend more than $5,000 in his campaign for nomination or election, and no candidate for United States Senator may spend, legally, more than $10,000 in his campaign. Candidates are prohibited from making promises of office or other promises in order to obtain votes. At the time, two United States Senators were under indictment for the purchase of their seats, and one of them acknowledged that he had spent over $70,000 in his campaign.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1912

LONG before 1912 it was clear that any attempt to renominate Mr. Taft for the presidency would meet with bitter opposition. A vast number of Republicans, including many of those who had been most enthusiastic in his support in 1908, were deeply dissatisfied with his course and wished to nominate a more progressive man; while some who were reasonably well satisfied with his conduct of affairs believed it would be wise to put forward a stronger candidate. Mr. Taft and his friends, however, made light of this opposition and determined to force his renomination as a "vindication." They controlled the party machinery in most of the States, could command the support of a multitude of office-holders, had ample funds, and could depend upon the aid of most of the Republican politicians. Many

of these last cared little for Mr. Taft personally, but in the rising tide of progressive opposition to him they saw a menace to their own power.

Early in 1911 Senators La Follette, of Wisconsin, Bourne, of Oregon, Cummins, of Iowa, Clapp, of Minnesota, and Poindexter, of Washington, Representatives Murdock, of Kansas, Lenroot, of Wisconsin, Norris, of Nebraska, and others, both in and out of Congress, formed a definite Progressive Republican organization whose objects were to promote progressive ideas and to oppose the renomination of Taft. The platform of this organization included direct primaries, popular election of delegates to the national convention, election of Senators by direct vote of the people, the initiative, referendum, and recall, and an effective corrupt practices act.

Many of these progressives at first turned to Senator La Follette as a possible candidate. He was one of the original progressives. He had done much, as Governor, to gain the confidence of the people of his

own State, and he was sent to Washington to carry his fight for reform into the national legislature. Here his reception was not cordial. He was looked upon as a radical, possibly a visionary reformer, but not exceedingly dangerous, for he was alone. He stood alone until the election of 1908, when nine more progressives took their seats; in 1910 the number was still further increased. Through the pages of a weekly paper that he owned and edited he fought vigorously for progressive measures, and he attracted much attention by going about the country and in speeches reading the "roll-call" of the votes of reactionary Senators and Representatives on public measures.

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Senator La Follette.

But the supporters of Taft were so strongly intrenched in power that Senator

La Follette's candidacy made small headway. Furthermore, many progressives were inclined to doubt whether his temperament and judgment were such as to fit him for the presidency. Before the end of 1911 it became increasingly apparent that there was only one Republican who stood a real chance of turning President Taft and his supporters out of their intrenched position and that he was not Senator La Follette. On February 2, 1912, La Follette made a long and injudicious speech before a meeting of publishers in Philadelphia, and wholesale desertions from his banner soon followed.

Meanwhile, great pressure had been brought to bear to induce Colonel Roosevelt once more to stand for the presidency. His position was an embarrassing one. He had repeatedly disclaimed any intention of again being a candidate. If he entered the contest, he would certainly be bitterly attacked by old enemies, and he would also alienate many former friends. It was doubtful whether he could be nomi-

nated and even more doubtful whether, if nominated, he could be elected, for the prejudice against a third term would add greatly to other difficulties. But a large section of the party of which he had once been the idolized chief had risen in revolt against the man he had set over them and were clamoring that he should come from retirement and aid them in driving the incumbent from power. He was deeply dissatisfied with the course of his former protégé, who had brought so much of his labor to naught. His sympathies lay with the progressives, who in times of need in many a bitter fight had always stood behind him, and he felt that to refuse their call would be equivalent to deserting them in their extremity. If he could wrest control of the party from the stand-pat leaders and once more set its feet on the progressive road, he felt that it would be worth while. Therefore, after long deliberation, in reply to an appeal of seven Republican Governors, he announced that his hat was "in the ring." He made the campaign on a

platform of progressive principles, including the initiative, referendum, and recall of executive officers, but as a substitute for the recall of judges, he favored a recall of judicial decisions.

There ensued the bitterest pre-convention contest ever witnessed in American politics. The Taft adherents controlled the political machinery in most of the States, and in their desperation, knowing their backs were to the wall, they displayed no squeamishness as to methods. Had the old convention system of choosing delegates to the national convention existed everywhere as had once been the case, they could have renominated Taft with ease, but in a number of Northern and Western States the new system of primary elections had come into being, and these primaries were conducted under legal regulations. Both Roosevelt and Taft took the field in person and waged vigorous campaigns for delegates. La Follette carried North Dakota and Wisconsin, in which last State Roosevelt made no contest; Taft secured

Georgia and a small plurality in Massachusetts but lost the delegates at large and ten of the district delegates; Roosevelt carried Illinois, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Maryland, California, Oregon, New Jersey, South Dakota, and even Taft's own State, Ohio, in most cases by enormous majorities. Out of 388 delegates chosen in States having primaries safeguarded by law, La Follette obtained 36, Taft 71, and Roosevelt 281. In the great Republican States Roosevelt secured a large majority of the delegates; the Taft forces controlled all the insular and territorial delegates and most of those from the Southern States, none of which had cast a Republican ballot in the electoral colleges since 1876. From many places the Roosevelt forces sent contesting delegations, some confessedly for the sake of the effect on public opinion, others with more merit behind them.

The Roosevelt adherents contended that so clear an expression of the will of the rank and file ought to be decisive, but the Taft supporters replied that they were

under no obligation to change the rules of the game while the game was in progress. The bitterness aroused had been very great, and, backed up by many conservative citizens who were aghast at the idea of breaking the "third term" precedent or feared such innovations as the recall of judicial decisions, the conservative leaders, controlling the convention machinery, resolved to make full use of their power. As they controlled the national committee by a large majority, they were able to make any decisions they wished regarding the more than 200 contested seats. Less than a score of these were awarded to the Roosevelt claimants.

The Republican national convention met at Chicago (June 18) amid scenes of great bitterness and with the Roosevelt supporters openly crying "Steam-roller!" and "Fraud!" At the request of his friends, Roosevelt himself went to Chicago and helped to manage his campaign from outside the convention hall. But the national committee had seated enough Taft claim-

The Republican National Convention at Chicago, June 18, 1912.

ants to enable the Taft forces to control the convention by a bare majority. Finding that their protests were unheeded, the Roosevelt delegates, through their spokesman, Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, declared that the national committee had stolen a great number of seats, that the convention no longer represented the party, that they would no longer participate in the proceedings. "We shall sit in protest," said Allen, "and the people who sent us here shall judge us." Many of the Roosevelt delegates left the hall, and most of those who remained did not vote. Amid these depressing circumstances the Taft delegates proceeded to renominate Taft and Sherman.

That night, in Orchestra Hall, Roosevelt's supporters met and informally renominated him for the presidency. This action was unanimously confirmed by a formal convention which met in August. For the vice-presidency the convention named Governor Hiram Johnson, of California. The new party took the name of

"Progressive" and adopted the "Bull Moose" as its emblem.

In their platform the Progressives united the Hamiltonian theory of nationalism with the Jeffersonian theory of popular rule.

The birth of the Progressive Party at Orchestra Hall, Chicago June 18, 1912.

From a sketch by Wallace Morgan, made during the Convention.

The mission of the new party was proclaimed to be to destroy "the invisible government" that sat enthroned behind the "ostensible government," and "to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics." The platform indorsed the short ballot, direct primaries, the direct election of Senators, the

initiative, referendum, and recall, the recall of judicial decisions, woman's suffrage, conservation, and tariff revision. Great stress was laid on a programme of social and industrial justice, including the prevention of industrial accidents and occupational diseases, the establishment of workmen's compensation and a minimum wage for women workers, and the prohibition of child labor.

Meanwhile, a spirited but less spectacular contest was being waged for the Democratic nomination. In that party also there were conservative and progressive factions that were seeking to win control, though the lines were not so clearly drawn as among the Republicans.

The chief candidates were Speaker Champ Clark, of Missouri, Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, Governor Judson Harmon, of Ohio, and Congressman Oscar Underwood, of Alabama. Governor Wilson was most favorably regarded by the progressive element, while either Congressman Underwood or Governor Harmon

would have been satisfactory to the conservatives. Speaker Clark's lieutenants flirted with both factions to win votes. A possible dark horse was William Jennings Bryan, who hoped that a deadlock would ensue with the result that the convention would once more turn to him.

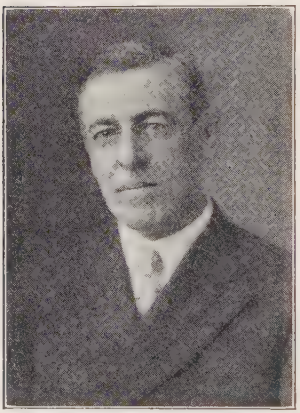
Although three times defeated, Bryan still had a powerful following and was able to exercise the determining influence in the convention. He had conducted a vigorous campaign against Harmon, and for months had constantly been warning Democrats to beware of reactionary influences. A few days before the convention met he telegraphed each of the candidates asking him to aid in preventing the election of Judge Parker, who was being put forward by the conservatives for the temporary chairmanship. Only Woodrow Wilson returned an answer in full accord with Bryan's desires, and this probably had considerable influence on Bryan's mind in Wilson's favor.

When the convention assembled in Balti-

more (June 25), the conservatives at first controlled and elected Alton B. Parker as temporary chairman over Bryan by a majority of 69. But Bryan appealed to the rank and file of the Democracy at home, and so many protesting telegrams came pouring in to the delegates that ultimately the progressive element managed to have its way both as to platform and candidates.

On the first ballot Clark received 440½ votes, Wilson 324, Harmon 148, Underwood 117½, with 56 scattering. For many ballots Clark continued to have a plurality, and on the tenth ballot Tammany Hall transferred its support from Harmon to Clark, and the Missourian received a small majority, though still lacking many votes of the required two-thirds. On the fourteenth ballot Bryan, who had hitherto been voting for Clark because under instructions to do so from his Nebraska constituents, rose and dramatically declared that he would withhold his vote from Clark as long as New York's plutocratic influence was thrown to him. He thereupon voted

for Wilson, in whose interest he had already been working. Bryan's defection proved a death blow to Clark's candidacy. On the twenty-eighth ballot Wilson sprang into the lead, and on the forty-sixth he was nominated. For the vice-presidency Governor Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, was named.



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Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.

The Democratic presidential nominee was a newcomer in politics. He was the son of a Presbyterian minister and was born at Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856. He graduated from Princeton and from the law school of the University of Virginia, and for a time practised his profession at Atlanta but with indifferent success. He then did graduate work in Johns Hopkins University, and after receiving the degree of Ph.D. he taught polit-

ical science, history, and kindred subjects at Bryn Mawr College, Wesleyan University, and Princeton University, of which last institution he became president in 1902. He wrote a history of the United States and a number of other books dealing with history or political science. His entrance into practical politics was largely due to the efforts of a friend and admirer, George Harvey, editor of *The North American Review* and *Harper's Weekly*, who persistently advertised Wilson's merits in the pages of these magazines. In 1910 Wilson was nominated for Governor of New Jersey and was swept into office on the tide of reaction against Taft's administration. As Governor he became involved in some bitter quarrels with the local Demo-

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Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana.

cratic machine, but he managed to secure the enactment of a number of progressive laws, and thus won favor with the progressive element in the nation.

Many of the regular Republican leaders made light of the Progressive party and declared that it would make little showing in the campaign, but time showed the hollowness of such predictions. Some of the most prominent men in the old Republican party, including James R. Garfield, Medill McCormick, Gifford Pinchot, ex-Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, Senator Dixon, of Montana, Senator Poindexter, of Washington, Oscar S. Straus, and Charles S. Bird, enthusiastically promoted the Progressive cause. The platform of the new party appealed strongly to idealists and social reformers, and many such persons, including Raymond Robbins, Judge Benjamin B. Lindsey, and Jane Addams, entered the fight on the Progressive side. In several States the Republican organization went over to the Progressives almost intact, while in California and South Dakota the Roosevelt

electors ran as Republicans. Senator Cummins, of Iowa, announced that he would continue a Republican, but said that Taft had been nominated by such fraudulent means that he would vote for Roosevelt. Senator La Follette had been greatly angered by the desertion of his candidacy, and he made verbal warfare on both Taft and Roosevelt, but especially upon the latter. The nomination of progressive candidates prevented any wholesale desertions to the new party from the Democracy, but a number of prominent Democrats, including John M. Parker, of Louisiana, and Bourke Cockran, of New York, declared for Roosevelt, and the election figures seem to show that some hundreds of thousands of the Democratic rank and file did likewise.

The Progressives threw themselves into the conflict with the ardor of crusaders and won converts by their very enthusiasm. Feeling between them and the Republicans was, of course, very bitter. Republicans called the Progressives "rene-

gades" and "visionaries" and their leader a "neurotic" and a "demagogue," who was seeking to make himself a "dictator." Progressives regarded the campaign as a new

William Jennings Bryan campaigning for Wilson.

Armageddon, a battle between right and wrong; Taft's nomination was a "steal" that had been put through by a combination between "crooked politics and crooked business."

Being confident of success, Governor Wilson campaigned in leisurely fashion, dwelling upon the evils of the protective

tariff and talking much of the "New Freedom" that he was advocating for business and the people. Much of the heavy work of the campaign was assumed by Bryan, who, as usual, made long tours and delivered an immense number of speeches.

On the evening of October 14, just as he was starting from his hotel in Milwaukee for a hall in which he was to speak, Colonel Roosevelt was shot in the breast by a half-crazed fanatic named John Shrank. Fortunately, the force of the bullet was weakened by striking a manuscript and a spectacle-case in the ex-President's pocket, but the missile fractured a rib and inflicted a serious wound. Without waiting to ascertain the extent of his wound, Roosevelt proceeded to the hall and spoke to a large and excited audience. Holding up the manuscript and showing the hole through which the bullet had gone, he said: "It takes more than that to kill a Bull Moose!" After the meeting he was taken to a hospital in Chicago and later to his home at Oyster Bay, and recovered sufficiently,

thanks to his temperate habits and iron physique, to appear at two monster meetings in New York City. Admiration for his "gameness" undoubtedly won him many votes.

Veteran political observers considered it a foregone conclusion that the Democrats would win, and that the only doubt was as to whether the Republicans or the Progressives would run second. Woodrow Wilson, in fact, carried forty States and received two of the electoral votes of California, a total of 435. Colonel Roosevelt received eleven votes in California, and carried Pennsylvania, Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Washington, with a total of 88 electoral votes. President Taft ran a poor third, carrying only two States, Vermont and Utah, with a total of eight electoral votes.

The Democratic triumph was, however, less overwhelming than appeared from the electoral vote. Out of 15,031,169 ballots cast Wilson received only 6,286,214, which was 2,453,741 short of a popular majority,

and more than 100,000 less than Bryan received in 1908. Roosevelt's vote was 4,126,020, and Taft's 3,483,922. In fact, owing to the peculiarities of our electoral system, had 250,000 voters in the right States transferred their ballots from Wilson to Roosevelt the Progressive candidate would have received a majority of the electoral votes and the Presidency. A feature of the election was the large Socialist vote for Eugene V. Debs, which amounted to 898,296, or more than double the number in 1908.

The Progressives hailed the result as a moral victory, and predicted that the Republican party would disappear and would be supplanted by the new organization. The outcome was, beyond question, a great personal triumph for Colonel Roosevelt. Enthusiasm for him and dissatisfaction with Taft were the chief factors in the Progressive showing; in fact, great numbers of voters had cast their ballots for the Progressive ticket without ceasing to consider themselves Republicans. Seri-

ous as was the split—and the historian had to go back to 1860 to find anything in American politics to equal it—it was not so complete as it seemed. In many States and smaller divisions, Republicans and Progressives, though differing as to the heads of the ticket, voted for the same candidates for Congress and for local offices. This condition of affairs inured mainly to the advantage of the Republicans, who, though badly outvoted in the presidential contest by the Progressives, won many more local and State offices and seats in Congress.

For the time being, however, by far the most interesting question was: Will the Republican party or the Progressive party survive? The answer depended in no small measure upon whether the victorious Democrats—who would for the first time since 1895 control the Presidency and both houses of Congress—pursued a progressive or a reactionary course.

PERIOD VIII

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

1913–1922

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT WILSON

On March 4, 1913, a vast crowd assembled before the east front of the Capitol to witness the inauguration of the first Democratic President who had taken the oath of office since the second installation of Grover Cleveland, twenty years before. The weather was agreeable, and all the attendant circumstances were auspicious. The inaugural address was short and decidedly progressive in tone. The new President had a gift for phrase-making, and the speech contained a number of passages that were much admired. The occasion was interpreted to mean much more than the mere success of a political party. "This is not a day of triumph; it

is a day of dedication. Here muster not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

There had been much discussion as to whether a seat in the Cabinet would be offered to Democracy's thrice-disappointed leader, William Jennings Bryan. The estimation in which he was held by millions of Democrats and the services he had rendered Wilson at the Baltimore convention made the tender of such a position practically inevitable. Bryan was, in fact, offered the post of Secretary of State, and he accepted. His technical qualifications for the post were doubtful, for he had never made any profound study of international law, but it was expected that the duties of the place would not be very onerous, and one of the ablest authorities on the prac-

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The Inauguration of President Wilson, March 4, 1913.

tices of diplomacy was installed in the department as counsellor.

Among the other members of the Cabinet were William G. McAdoo, of New

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President Wilson and His Cabinet, March 6, 1913.

York, Secretary of the Treasury; Josephus Daniels, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; and Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War. Upon the whole, the ablest member of all was Franklin K. Lane, of California, a former member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, who became Secre-

tary of the Interior and performed the duties of that office with great credit to himself until near the end of Wilson's presidency.

During the campaign Wilson had said much about the economic evils from which the country suffered and about the remedies he proposed to apply, and between the election and the inauguration some of his speeches, edited and revised by William Bayard Hale, had been published under the title of *The New Freedom*. The book was so named after a phrase that occurred in it again and again. Some critics of the book declared that it was vague in concrete proposals, but the gist of it was that American economic conditions had been transformed, that great monopolies had sprung up, and that even the Federal Government had become "a foster-child of special interests." Wilson expressed himself friendly to honest business enterprises, no matter how "big," but declared an intention to destroy monopolies, which he assumed had been built up by indefensible practices and special

governmental favors, rather than by efficiency and intelligence. He insisted that older liberties must be "restored," and by this some readers inferred that he meant to restore the era of competition.

For the purpose of carrying out his ideas and the party pledges, the new President speedily issued a call for Congress to assemble in special session on April 7. On that day Champ Clark, of Missouri, was reelected Speaker of the House of Representatives over James R. Mann, of Illinois, the Republican candidate, by a vote of 272 to 111.

President Wilson revived a custom disused since the days of the elder Adams and appeared before Congress in person and read his message. One reason assigned for his course in this matter was that he desired to establish closer relations between the Executive and Congress. He had, in fact, determined to act the part of a leader, even in legislative matters, and this policy he followed throughout his Presidency.

The first subject to which the President directed the attention of the special ses-

sion was the revision of the tariff. In the previous Congress the Democrats and insurgent Republicans had combined to pass through both houses a bill revising the notorious "Schedule K," a farmer's free-list bill, which removed the duties on such articles as boots and shoes, wire fencing, and certain farming implements, and a bill lowering the duties on chemicals, cotton manufactures, and other articles, but Taft had vetoed these "pop-gun" measures, as they were called. In the new Congress the House speedily passed by a vote of more than two to one the Underwood Bill, which was to a large extent based upon these former measures. In the Senate the contest was much more prolonged.

Lobbyists for the protected interests swarmed to Washington in such numbers that President Wilson issued a public statement denouncing their "extraordinary exertions," and both houses conducted investigations into the lobby evil. That conducted by the House reached back for thirty years and brought to light some

startling facts regarding the use of underhand and corrupt influences in determining legislation in the past.

Finally, in amended form, the Underwood Bill passed the Senate by a vote of 44 to 37. Two Progressive Senators, Poindexter and La Follette, voted for it, and two Democratic Senators, Ransdell and Thornton, of Louisiana, voted against it. The opposition of Ransdell and Thornton was based upon the fact that the bill provided for an immediate reduction of the duty on sugar and for ultimately placing that article on the free list.

The bill was referred to a conference committee and was finally passed by both houses, becoming a law by the signature of the President on October 5. It was by no means a free-trade measure, but it reduced duties on over 900 articles, especially on necessities of life, and it placed iron ore, steel rails, raw wool, and rough lumber on the free list. As before stated, sugar was ultimately to go on the free list, the date being fixed at May 1, 1916, but

this sacrifice of the sugar-growing interests aroused such opposition, especially in Louisiana, that this clause was repealed in April, 1916. A very commendable feature of the bill was that it established absolute free trade with the Philippines. It also contained a clause designed to prevent the "dumping" of foreign goods in the United States at ruinously low prices, and it remitted 5 per cent on duties on goods imported in American ships, the object being to encourage the development of the American marine. The act did not provide for a tariff commission of any sort, but agitation in favor of such a body became so strong that in September, 1916, Congress created a bipartisan commission of six members, whose duty it should be to gather information on tariff problems.

It was obvious that under the new schedules there would be a great falling off in revenue, so an income-tax feature was added to the Underwood Bill. A Sixteenth Amendment, authorizing the collection of such a tax "without apportionment

among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration," had recently been ratified by a sufficient number of States and had been proclaimed (February 25, 1913) a part of the Constitution, hence there could be no question of the constitutionality of such a measure. A tax of 1 per cent was laid upon the net incomes of corporations, joint-stock companies, and associations, and on individual incomes in excess of $3,000 in the case of single persons, or $4,000 of married persons. On large individual incomes a graduated surtax was levied, running from 1 per cent on incomes of from $20,000 to $50,000 to 6 per cent on incomes in excess of $500,000. To avoid the objection that in some cases these two levies would involve double taxation, individuals were permitted to deduct from their taxable income dividends upon which a corporation had already paid an income tax.

While the Underwood Bill was still before the Senate, President Wilson again appeared (June 23) before Congress in

order to urge the enactment of new banking and currency legislation, the need of which had long been recognized. Three days later the Glass-Owen Bill, drawn on lines approved by the President and Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, was introduced in the House. After months of debate, and after many amendments, it was finally enacted into law in December, after the regular session had convened.

The main objects of the new law were to provide a more elastic currency, to reorganize banking in such a way that funds would be available to meet unusual demands, and to destroy the so-called "Money Trust," a gigantic concentration of money power the alleged menace of which had been brought out by a House investigating committee late in Taft's administration. The act established a system of twelve regional reserve banks under the central control of a Federal Reserve Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Comptroller of the Currency *ex officio*, and of four other per-

sons appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. These reserve banks were really banks of bankers, and their capital was subscribed by the banks that joined the system, not by individuals. All national banks were required to join, and State banks and trust companies might do so if they wished. Member banks were required to keep deposits in the reserve banks, and the reserve banks might also receive deposits from the United States Government but not from individuals; each reserve bank thus became a reservoir from which funds could be sent at any time to the places where most needed. The act also authorized the issuance of "federal reserve notes" on the security of commercial paper instead of government bonds, as in the case of the old national-bank notes, for which the new notes were gradually to be substituted. In the next few years the new system proved equal to the needs of most unusual financial conditions, though some critics are inclined to say that it makes possible undue inflation of the currency.

The act will probably be regarded by historians as one of the main achievements of Wilson's administration.

Early in 1914, in response to a presidential message on the subject, Congress took up the trust problem. Five bills, popularly known as the "five brothers," were introduced and, after months of deliberation, two were passed. One of these, the Clayton Act, prohibited, except under certain conditions, interlocking directorates of banks, common carriers, and other corporations doing interstate business, forbade discrimination in prices when the effect would be to tend to produce monopoly, placed under the ban various other practices used by monopolists, and otherwise supplemented existing antitrust legislation. Labor and agricultural organizations, lawfully carrying out legitimate objects, were exempted from the provisions of the act, and, as a special concession to labor, the injunction powers of federal courts in labor disputes were greatly circumscribed. Another act created a Federal

Trade Commission of five members, with broad powers of investigating matters connected with interstate trade and the management of corporations engaged in interstate trade and more restricted powers of enforcing antitrust legislation. The more radical element in Congress endeavored to secure an act regulating the issue of stocks and bonds by common carriers, one object being to abolish the plundering practices connected with the issuing of "watered stock," but so much opposition developed that the bill failed.

By some persons these acts were hailed as a final solution of the trust problem. Time was to show, however, that this view was too optimistic. Many business evils persisted, and during the Great War and after prices were manipulated by secret combinations to an extent never before dreamed of.

In the enactment of these laws President Wilson played an important part. For years the Democratic party had resembled a balky team, never willing to pull together,

but under Wilson's leadership the Democratic faction showed unusual docility. The President gained his ends partly by prodding but largely by persuasion. Few ventured to dispute his leadership. He was, indeed, "chief magistrate to the uttermost fringe of his authority."

Meanwhile Secretary of State Bryan was zealously working to apply his theories for preserving the peace of the world. One of his main ideas was that the chief danger of war lies in precipitate action and that delay, by giving time for passions to cool, would accomplish much in preventing nations from resorting to arms. Under Roosevelt more than a score of limited arbitration treaties had been concluded with other nations, and under Taft the principle of arbitration had been still further advanced. Bryan eagerly hastened to forward the peace principle, and before the end of a year thirty-one nations had signified a willingness to bind themselves to submit any dispute with the United States upon which a mutual agreement could not be reached

to an international tribunal for investigation and report, and that for the period of one year neither nation concerned should declare war or increase its armaments. In course of time most of these nations, including Great Britain and France, concluded treaties to that effect. Germany and Austria-Hungary, however, held back. It was fortunate for us that they did so. Had the United States been bound by such an agreement in 1917, it would have been highly embarrassing to us, and might have enabled the Central Powers to win the war.

In an earlier chapter we have seen that President Roosevelt deemed it necessary, as a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, to establish a protectorate over Santo Domingo in order to prevent European intervention. Under his successor conditions in Nicaragua became so bad that an attempt was made to make a similar arrangement regarding that country. But senatorial opponents of the protectorate policy succeeded in defeating one treaty and in pre-

venting final action upon another. Nevertheless, President Taft sent a representative to Nicaragua to take charge of the customs. Continued disorders brought about the negotiation of a new treaty in 1914, and

A street in Cape Haitien, Haiti, paved under American protectorate.

this treaty was finally ratified. By this treaty the United States was not only given a virtual protectorate over Nicaragua, but also acquired exclusive and perpetual right to construct an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua and the right to use the Corn Islands in the Caribbean Sea and Fonseca

Bay on the Pacific coast as naval bases. In 1915 anarchical conditions in Haiti rendered necessary the imposition of a more radical protectorate over that country than any that had yet been arranged.

Possession of the Panama Canal and of

The harbor of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.
From a drawing by O. F. Howard.

Porto Rico, and protectorates over Panama, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Cuba, thus gave the United States a predominant position in the region of the Caribbean Sea. In 1916 our power in that region was still further increased by the purchase from Denmark of the Virgin Islands to the eastward of Porto Rico.

For strategic reasons the United States had long desired these islands, and both Seward and John Hay, when Secretaries of State, had negotiated treaties of cession. In both cases, however, the Danish Parliament had rejected them—in the last instance probably because of hostile German influence. But the Great War brought serious financial embarrassments to Denmark and in consequence the purchase was finally consummated, the sum paid being $25,000,000.

The Democratic party had always severely criticised the manner in which we acquired the Panama Canal Zone, and ever since that time Colombia had nursed a grudge against the United States. To promote better relations with Colombia, and also to display disapproval of Roosevelt's course in the matter, the Wilson administration negotiated a treaty with Colombia expressing "sincere regret that anything had occurred to mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations," and bind-

ing the United States to pay Colombia $25,000,000. But Republican opposition to the treaty prevented ratification of the treaty throughout the whole of Wilson's Presidency. In 1921, however, after the Republicans returned to power the treaty was ratified. The main object of the Republicans in finally accepting the treaty was to restore friendlier relations with Colombia rather than to concede that any wrong had been done in the matter of the Panama revolution.

Early in Wilson's administration a renewal of anti-Japanese agitation in the Pacific coast States gave rise to a serious international controversy and occasioned grave anxiety, but a much more persistent source of trouble was the state of affairs in Mexico. Mexico is a land of such great natural wealth that Humboldt once called it "the storehouse of the world." Under Spanish rule vast sums in treasure were taken from its mines, yet the surface of its mineral resources were hardly more than scratched. In addition, it had great pos-

sibilities in the way of agriculture, fruit-growing, rubber culture, and stock-raising, while vast lakes of oil underlay portions of the country. It was the policy of Porfirio Diaz, who for many years ruled under the name of President but who in reality was a dictator, to encourage foreigners to engage in business enterprises in Mexico, and strong inducements in the form of special concessions were held out to them. In consequence, many foreigners, including thousands of Americans, became residents of the country, and vast sums of foreign capital flowed in. Outwardly Mexico was prosperous, but it was a prosperity in which the common people, the peons, had little share. Many of them lived on vast es-

Porfirio Diaz.

tates in a condition comparable to that of serfdom in the Middle Ages, and their poverty in both country and town was often extreme.

Though nominally a republic, Mexico

A Mexican village.

was a land in which there existed few of the essentials requisite to successful self-government. There was a considerable population of foreign origin, and also a still larger number of persons of mixed blood, but the vast majority of the Mexican people were wholly or chiefly of Indian origin. Comparatively few of the peon

class could read or write or possessed even the rudiments of political training. During most of Mexico's existence as an independent nation "revolutions tripped on one another's heels," and in the period from 1821 to 1876 the country had about eighty Presidents, besides an "emperor" or two.

During the years 1877–1880 and 1884–1911 Diaz ruled the land, nominally as President but actually as a dictator. He was a man of energy and iron will and was astute enough to play off one contending force against another, and thus maintain his power. The forms of popular government were maintained, but elections were farces. Diaz put down with an iron hand all attempts at rebellion, and the fact that peace was maintained in Mexico, and that there had been great development in the way of railways, telegraphs, and other outward signs of civilization led many foreigners to believe that conditions were better than was really the case.

In 1910 Mexico celebrated the centen-

nial of her declaration of independence, and in the same year Diaz was once more "elected" President. In the election Francisco I. Madero, a member of a wealthy and powerful family, ventured to attempt to stand against him but there was no real election, and Madero was brushed aside. Thereupon Madero headed a revolt and declared that he would not lay down his arms until Diaz resigned or there was a free and open election. At first the revolt was confined to the states of Chihuahua and Durango, but there were elements of discontent all over Mexico, and soon the revolt spread rapidly southward. Diaz was now an old man, and had lost much of his once great mental and physical vigor. In May, 1911, he found it expedient to resign the Presidency and to depart for Europe. In the following October Madero was formally elected President, and, as he was really actuated by a patriotic desire to uplift his people, a better day seemed to have dawned for Mexico. But new rebellions soon broke out, and in February,

1913, he was treacherously overthrown, taken prisoner, and assassinated. General Victoriano Huerta, the chief figure in Madero's betrayal and death, seized power as provisional President.

From the beginning of Madero's uprising American property in Mexico had been destroyed or confiscated and American lives imperilled, but President Taft, though often urged to intervene, confined himself to trying to enforce our neutrality laws, to protests, to mobilizing (March, 1911) 20,000 regulars along the border, to recognizing Madero after his election to the Presidency, and to imposing an embargo against the shipment of arms and munitions to factions opposing Madero. President Wilson likewise pursued a policy of what he later called "watchful waiting," and refused to recognize the Huerta government, partly because of the dastardly way in which it had gained its power.

Huerta's authority was never established throughout Mexico. The Maderists and others opposed him and took the name of

"Constitutionalists." Their most forceful leaders were Venustiano Carranza and Francisco Villa. The former, who assumed the title of "provisional President," was an educated man, by profession a lawyer, and he came of good family. Villa, on the other hand, was an ignorant peon who learned to write his name only after reaching manhood; he had been and continued to be a bandit, but he was a bold man, with great primitive force and a natural talent for leadership.

President Wilson's policy of refusing recognition to Huerta because he had come to power through the murder of his predecessor was an innovation in our dealings with Latin-American countries. In the past our action had been based largely upon the prospects of the new government's strength and probable permanence. Believing that Huerta would probably be able to re-establish peace and order in Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson, the American ambassador, recommended that he be recognized, but President Wilson refused,

and Wilson resigned. For years thereafter President Wilson, in dealings with Mexico, depended upon personal representatives without diplomatic rank. In August, 1913, such a representative, John Lind, a former Governor of Minnesota, conveyed to Huerta the terms on which a settlement could be made, but as one of the demands was that Huerta should efface himself, the dictator refused. In a message to Congress (August 27), President Wilson explained his Mexican policy and declared that Huerta must be eliminated. The next day he issued a proclamation warning all American citizens to leave Mexican soil, but large numbers saw fit not to obey. In his annual message of the following December the President predicted the dictator's downfall, and expressed confidence that we need not change our policy of "watchful waiting."

Meanwhile, outrages against Americans and other foreigners continued, and there was a growing demand that the United States should intervene and restore peace.

Those who favored intervention pointed to the vast investment of American capital in Mexico and to the murder of Americans on both sides of the border; they argued that, in view of the inability of the Mexicans to govern themselves, intervention was inevitable in the end and might as well come at once. Those supporting the administration's policy argued that intervention would be enormously costly in money and blood, that once in Mexico we might find it impossible to withdraw and would be compelled to annex the country or declare it a dependency, that an invasion of Mexico would arouse feelings of antagonism toward us all over Latin America.

Early in 1914, in order to aid the Constitutionalists, President Wilson revoked the embargo on arms, thereby still further antagonizing the Huerta faction. In April a trifling incident brought matters to a crisis. Some American bluejackets landed at Tampico in order to buy gasolene and were arrested by a local Huerta military officer. They were speedily released by

order of a superior officer, and expressions of regret, in which Huerta joined, were tendered. But there had been other exasperating incidents, and Admiral Henry T.

U. S. Marines in Vera Cruz.

Mayo, who commanded the American naval vessels off the Gulf coast of Mexico, demanded a formal apology and a salute to the American flag. The demand was refused, and after several days of diplomatic haggling an ultimatum was sent to Huerta from Washington. Huerta declined

to comply with the demands, and his refusal, coupled with the fact that a German steamer was approaching Vera Cruz with a cargo of war munitions for Huerta's

U. S. Sailors Acting as Police in Vera Cruz.

troops, caused the Washington Government to send a wireless to our fleet to seize the town. Vera Cruz was thereupon bombarded (April 21, 1914) and occupied. Nineteen Americans and several times as many Mexicans, including some non-com-

batants, were killed. Six thousand regulars under General Frederick Funston were sent to Vera Cruz to hold the city.

The seizure of Vera Cruz was bitterly resented by Mexicans; even Carranza protested against it. More serious warfare seemed in prospect, but the diplomatic representatives at Washington of the so-called "A. B. C. Powers" (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) tendered their good offices to effect a peaceful adjustment, and as a result an "A. B. C. Conference" was held at Buffalo. This conference was attended by representatives of the mediating powers, Huerta, and the United States, and it remained in session for several weeks. Nothing of much consequence was accomplished, but the acceptance by the United States of mediation helped to convince the people of Latin America that we did not wish to conquer Mexico.

Meanwhile, the Constitutionalists had steadily grown stronger and Huerta weaker. In the middle of July, 1914, the dictator, realizing that his position was hopeless, re-

signed and fled to Europe. A month later Carranza entered the City of Mexico, and there seemed some hope that peace and order would be restored to the distracted country. But the victors speedily quarrelled among themselves. Villa raised the standard of revolt and declared he would never lay down his arms until Carranza was stripped of power. A new war broke out, fully as frightful as the old. In a single month the capital changed hands three times. Late in November the American forces were withdrawn from Vera Cruz but troops were still retained along the border. Nevertheless, lawless Mexican bands executed repeated raids over the border and robbed and murdered Americans in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas.

During 1915 a state of anarchy continued to reign throughout a large part of Mexico. The capital changed hands repeatedly, and many of the unhappy people of Mexico were reduced to a state of starvation. Toward the end of the year Carranza's power increased so much that on

October 19 the United States formally recognized him as the *de facto* ruler. The embargo on arms, which had been lowered, was reimposed in order to prevent the Villistas from obtaining munitions of war. Furthermore, the Carranza Government was permitted to send troops across American soil on American railroads in order that they might attack Villistas who could not readily be reached otherwise.

Our course in these matters enraged Villa. He was also worked upon by German agents, who were desirous of embroiling the United States with Mexico, and thus distract our attention from their submarine outrages. On March 9, 1916, with several hundred men he swept over the border and attacked the little town of Columbus, New Mexico, destroying much property and slaying eight American soldiers and nine civilians, besides wounding others. Some of the raiders were killed in the attack, and a pursuing force of cavalry killed or captured some others.

It was apparent that "watchful waiting"

had again broken down. The following day President Wilson announced that, "in aid of the constituted authorities of Mexico," a punitive force would be sent in pur-

American soldiers searching Mexican suspects.

suit of Villa, but that "scrupulous respect" would be shown for the Mexican republic. But there was lack of supplies and proper transport facilities, and it was not until six days after the raid that Brigadier-General Pershing crossed the border on a

"cold trail." It was comparatively easy for the Villistas to evade their pursuers amid the wilderness of deserts and mountains, and the expedition proved an inglorious one.

Carranza had consented to the expedition with great reluctance, and, spurred on by Mexican opinion, he soon began to urge that the American forces should be withdrawn. Wearisome negotiations extending through several months followed. In May there were new raids into Texas, and in June a clash took place at Carrizal between Carranza forces and a detachment of American colored cavalry, in which about twenty Americans were killed and seventeen were captured. The release of the prisoners was demanded and was soon conceded.

It was clear that the fifteen hundred miles of our Southern border could not properly be protected by our meagre regular army. In view of this fact and of the threatening attitude assumed by the Carranza Government, President Wilson called out practically all the National Guard, and

sent most of them to the border to do patrol duty. The mobilization was badly conducted and served to reveal again the weakness of our military system—which was all the more deplorable in view of

The 6th U. S. Cavalry in Mexico.

our threatening relations with Germany. Many persons supposed that vigorous action would at last be taken toward Mexico, but the administration again resumed its policy of "watchful waiting." Wearisome negotiations were conducted with Carranza, who persistently insisted that our

troops must retire. Finally in January, 1917, Pershing's forces were withdrawn from Mexico altogether.

Diplomatic relations with Germany were broken soon after, and formal war was declared in April. Mexican affairs receded into the background, but conditions in that unhappy country continued to be distracted, and American property in Mexico and in our territory along the border continued to be unsafe.

In January, 1920, a new turn was given to the Mexican kaleidoscope. A rebellion headed by General Alvaro Obregon spread with great rapidity, and early in May President Carranza was forced to flee from the capital and take refuge in the mountains to eastward. He was soon after treacherously slain by some of his own followers. General Obregon proved to be a stronger man than any of his immediate predecessors, and presently managed to extend his power over the whole country. Even Villa consented to lay down his arms in return for promise of amnesty and of a large sum

of money for himself and his followers. The former bandit chieftain settled down upon a great plantation and devoted himself to the rôle of peaceful farmer and rancher.

But anarchy, not order, seems to be the normal state of Mexico, and no one could safely predict how long the Obregon régime would last.

Serious as were our difficulties with regard to Mexico, they were after July, 1914, largely overshadowed by the World War. This stupendous struggle came with a dramatic suddenness that stupefied humanity. For years well-meaning but short-visioned pacifists had been saying that there would never be another serious war, but they were only shutting their eyes to unpleasant facts. Even in times of peace Europe was an armed camp, and national and economic rivalries were sharpened by racial antagonisms and hatreds dating back for centuries. Within a score of years the world had witnessed ten great wars and many smaller conflicts, and repeatedly a

general conflict had been narrowly averted.

All the great European powers were more or less tinged with the spirit of militarism, but that spirit found its supreme incarnation in Germany. In that country war was not only proclaimed to be a "biological necessity," but was called "the noblest and holiest expression of human activity." In a few centuries the Hohenzollerns had, largely by victories in war, elevated themselves from petty Princes into Emperors ruling one of the mightiest countries in the world. Since the Napoleonic conflicts their armies had never lost a battle, and in half a century had waged three wars, none of which was costly in blood or treasure, and all of which had won great advantages. Germans had come to believe that for them war was profitable. In war they believed they saw the means by which to spread their "*Kultur*" and to dominate the world.

For years the German War Lords had been preparing for the hour when Germany should strike for "*Weltmacht oder Nieder-*

gang," for "world power or downfall." They frowned upon Hague conferences, and blocked plans for disarmament and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. The idea of arbitration was wrong because under such a system "The weak nation is to have the same right to live as the powerful and vigorous nation." Only by successful war could Germans make for themselves the room that they had come to feel was their proper due.

The one great idea was to make the German Empire efficient in time of war. The German army was built up until it was the mightiest war machine the world had ever known. The navy was greatly expanded. Even industry was in large measure subordinated to military needs, and in almost every activity of life consideration had been given to the problem of how that activity could be made to aid military efficiency. Many of the railroads had been built chiefly for strategic purposes, and all of them could, at a moment's notice, be used to the fullest extent for

the transportation of troops and munitions. The government had even aided individuals and corporations to purchase motor-trucks of types that would be suited to military needs.

In 1914 Germany stood at the head of the Triple Alliance, the other two partners in which were Italy and Austria-Hungary. Italy was restive and her loyalty in a crisis could not be depended upon, but Austria-Hungary had come to be little more than a satellite of Germany. To fill the place likely to be made vacant by Italy's defection the Germans had cultivated close relations with Turkey.

As a makeweight to the Triple Alliance, France and Russia had, a score of years before the time of which we speak, formed the Dual Alliance. Great Britain was at that time pursuing a course of "splendid isolation," and looked upon Russia as her most dangerous rival. But presently the British began to regard German ambitions with uneasiness, and early in the new century the British and French came together

in what was known as the *Entente Cordiale*. In course of time the differences existing between Great Britain and Russia were composed, and the *Entente Cordiale* was broadened into the *Triple Entente*. There can be no doubt that the main object of the new combination was to restrain Germany; the statesmen who created it were working along the lines of the old theory of the "Balance of Power." The Germans bitterly resented what they called the policy of "*encirclement*" of their country, and were eager to burst what one of their foremost publicists called the "bars and bolts which other people are forging for us." The purposes of the Triple Entente were defensive, not offensive, but it was easy for the German War Lords to delude their people into the belief that their existing possessions and interests were threatened. This helps to explain why throughout the war millions of Germans honestly believed they were fighting in self-defense.

Thrice within a decade before the final outbreak a general war was narrowly

averted—twice over Moroccan affairs, once in 1913 over Balkan matters. In the conflict between the victors in the war of the Balkan League against Turkey the sympathies of Germans and Austrians were with Bulgaria, but Bulgaria was badly beaten. Serbia, with whom the relations of the House of Hapsburg had long been bad, emerged from these Balkan wars almost doubled in size, flushed with victory, and bitter against Austria, which had prevented her from obtaining a port on the Adriatic. It is now known that in August, 1913, Austria was eager to administer to Serbia the chastisement she undertook to inflict a year later, and that it was only because Italy refused to countenance such a step that it was not taken. In this troubled period Sir Edward Grey, British Minister of Foreign Affairs, labored heroically to prevent a general war, and this time he succeeded.

It was the desire of Austria and Germany to secure an outlet southward toward Turkey, the plains of Mesopotamia, and other

Oriental possibilities for exploitation, and Serbia lay right athwart the realization of this dream. On the other hand, millions of people of Serbian blood were languishing under the Hapsburg yoke, and Pan-Serbians longed for a day when these people would become citizens of a Greater Serbia.

On Sunday, June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his morganatic wife, Countess Sophia Chotek, were assassinated at Sarajevo in Bosnia. The assassin was a Hapsburg subject, but he was a member of a Pan-Serbian secret society, the Narodna Odbrana; the plot had been formed at Belgrade, and at least one of the conspirators was an officer in the Serbian army. There is no reason to believe that the Serbian Government was implicated, but the Austro-Hungarian Government, with the secret connivance of the German Government, took advantage of the situation to send a sweeping ultimatum to Serbia, full compliance with which would have necessitated a partial surrender of

independence. There is no escaping the conclusion that both Vienna and Berlin did not wish Serbia to submit but desired an opportunity to attack her.

Sir Edward Grey and other statesmen

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Refugees in flight from Tirlemont, Belgium.

made heroic efforts to avert the coming tragedy, but in vain. Austria-Hungary declared the Serbian answer unsatisfactory, broke off diplomatic relations (July 25), and began an invasion of Serbia two days later. Russia had begun to arm in order to protect Serbia, and Germany declared war on Russia. France inevitably became

involved as the ally of Russia. The Germans launched a great blow at France, designed to put her out of the war, and, in order to deliver the blow from an un-

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French infantry advancing through the vineyards of the Aisne Valley.

expected direction and to avoid the strong line of French fortresses, the Germans violated the neutrality of Belgium, which they were bound by treaty to protect. This dastardly act brought Great Britain into the war. And thus, in the course of a few days, most of the great powers of the world were locked in the greatest con-

flict of the ages. Italy refused to follow her former associates into the war, and the following spring cast in her lot with the Entente, but late in October, 1914, Turkey joined the Central Powers.

The Teutonic leaders hoped to win a speedy decision but failed. The German armies overran most of Belgium and northern France, but were turned back at the Marne by the genius of Joffre, Foch, and Gallieni, and before the end of the year the war in the west reached a deadlock that was not broken until 1918. In the east the Russians delivered staggering blows against Austria-Hungary, but met with great disasters in their efforts to invade East Prussia.

On the sea the Allied fleets speedily gained the mastery. The Germans retained control of the Baltic and of the southeastern portion of the North Sea, but elsewhere their war-ships were soon either sunk or were obliged to seek refuge in neutral ports. Thenceforth they were forced to confine their naval efforts to occasional raids and to submarine warfare.

From the outset the Germans followed a deliberate policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, or "frightfulness." They cared nothing for the good opinion of the world, if they could

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German troops passing through the ruined city of Louvain.

only terrorize it. They began their military operations by invading the territory of a little country they were bound by treaty to protect. It was not long before they cast aside all international law, and were violating most other laws, both human and divine.

At the beginning of the war both belligerents presented their cases to the Ameri-

can people and asked their sympathy. Many Americans speedily decided that the Entente Allies were fighting for civilization against a military despotism that wished to dominate the world, but unfortunately not all were well enough informed to be able to distinguish between the true and the false, and it is a commonplace that fiction is frequently more convincing than fact. The German Government had long had agents in this country preparing against the day that had now come, and the propaganda spread by these agents was certainly prolific in fiction, especially as to the causes of the war and the manner in which the Germans were waging it. Furthermore, old prejudices and racial origin rather than the real merits of the conflict were the determining factors with millions. Many others were indifferent as to the outcome, while not a few ignorantly assumed that it was a war in which no vital principle was at stake. But the ruthless invasion of innocent Belgium, and the long train of barbarities perpetrated by the Teutons on

land, on the sea, and from the air gradually swung the great mass of the American people into antagonism toward the powers guilty of such offenses against humanity.

On August 4, when five nations had entered the conflict, President Wilson issued a formal declaration of neutrality and warned Americans to abstain from committing unneutral acts. Such a proclamation was customary in the circumstances, and was accepted as a matter of course, but two weeks later he went a step farther and issued a statement the wisdom of which is more open to question. It was an appeal to his fellow citizens to be neutral in thought as well as in act. He declared that "with the causes and objects of this great war" we were "not concerned," and he said that "Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. . . . I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against

that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. . . . We must be impartial in thought as well as in action."

In this statement the President gave a sort of official sanction to the view that the conflict was one in which no vital issue was at stake. But Americans who knew what was back of the war and realized that the whole future of civilization hung upon the outcome could not feel "friendliness" toward those guilty of plunging the world into such a disaster. Three years later Vice-President Marshall, looking back to this time, publicly confessed that he had been at fault for having even attempted to be neutral when such issues were at stake. Even President Wilson ultimately changed his views on this matter, and in August, 1917, in reply to a peace proposal from the Pope, he laid the blame for the war on the German Government, which "secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without

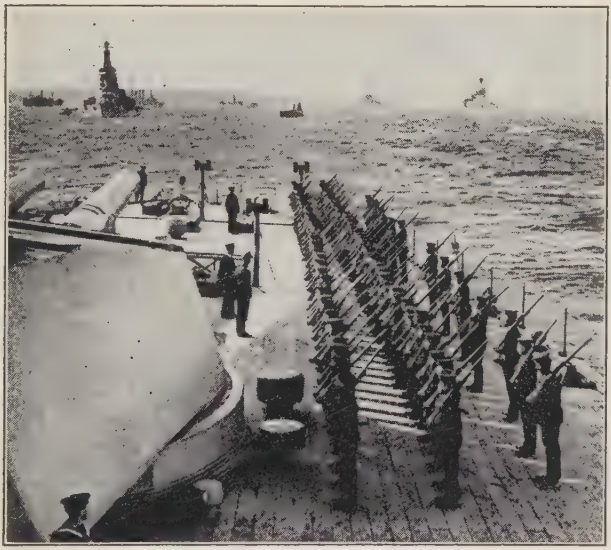
regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier, either of law or mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood."

The economic reactions of the war upon American interests were at first unfavorable. Business was already bad, and it grew worse during the fall and winter of 1914–15. Stock exchanges were closed for a time, the demand for American goods abroad fell off, and there was a steady flow of gold to Europe. Owing to the Allied control of the sea, our trade with the Central Powers practically ceased, but soon the Entente Allies found it expedient to draw upon the United States for supplies in an ever-increasing volume, and industry in this country was thereby given a great impetus. The balance of trade in our favor sprang from only $324,000,000 in 1914 to $1,768,000,000 in 1915 and to over $3,000,-

000,000 in 1916. To pay the unfavorable balances against them the Allies were obliged to ship gold to the United States, and in time there was actually a plethora of gold in this country. When their supply of gold diminished to dangerously small proportions, the Allies sold or pledged American securities held by their citizens. They were also able to float large loans in this country, and the money thus obtained was used almost wholly to pay for supplies bought here. The first loan floated here by a belligerent was, however, a German loan, and some of the money was used to instigate acts against the peace and safety of the United States. From being a debtor nation that owed four or five billion dollars abroad the United States was presently transformed into a creditor nation.

It was the thesis of one of the greatest of American historians, the late Rear-Admiral Mahan, that in world conflicts that side is almost certain to win which succeeds in controlling the sea. In Allied countries this doctrine of sea-power was accepted

as a truism, and the Allies based their hopes of ultimate victory partly upon the tremendous power of the British fleet. Recognizing the inferiority of their battle



British marines drilling on the quarter-deck.

fleet, the Germans determined not to risk a general engagement until by drawing the British vessels to destruction in attacks against their fortifications, by sinking others by submarines or floating mines or by dropping bombs from Zeppelins, they

could so reduce the strength of their enemy that a naval battle could be fought on more equal terms.

Within a few days after the war began the Germans began to violate international law by strewing the high seas with floating mines, and they achieved some successes in this way. In fact, the only British dreadnought lost during the war was sunk as a result of striking such a mine. Some dramatic blows were also delivered by submarines against Allied war-ships, especially in the early months of the war. However, it presently became clear that this policy of "whittling" could not succeed, for the British were building war-ships much faster than they were losing them, and instead of the gap between the two navies being closed it was steadily growing wider.

The Entente Allies used their superiority in sea-power to strangle the foreign trade of the Central Powers and to protect their own commerce with their colonial possessions and with other countries. Except in the Baltic Sea, the merchant ships of the

Central Powers were speedily captured or forced to seek refuge in home or neutral ports. The sea-borne commerce of these powers was paralyzed, and as Germany was mainly a manufacturing and commercial country, the loss of most of her foreign trade was very serious.

The Allied blockade problem was greatly complicated by the presence on the borders of the Central Powers of such countries as Rumania, Switzerland, Holland, and Denmark. It was, of course, impossible to prevent these nations and also Sweden and Norway from sending in considerable quantities of goods produced in their own countries and receiving goods produced in the Central Powers in return; but the Allies early adopted a policy of preventing these countries from being used as entry ports for goods destined for the Central Powers or ports of exit for goods produced by those powers. By one means or another pressure was ultimately put upon neutrals contiguous to the enemy to induce them to lay embargoes on shipments of munitions,

foodstuffs, and other supplies to Germany and Austria. No formal blockade of German ports was declared, but a list of contraband goods that would be seized when consigned to the Central Powers was issued, and new articles were from time to time added to this list. During the American Civil War the Federal Government had applied the doctrine of "continuous voyage" and "ultimate destination," and had seized goods that were being carried to Mexico for shipment by land into the Confederacy, and the Allied Powers now made use of this doctrine to prevent contraband from being carried to their enemies through neutral states.

In the application of these measures the Allies displayed considerable regard for American public sentiment. For example, they did not make cotton contraband until long after it would have been expedient to do so, though they had good grounds for taking such a stand, as cotton is largely used in the making of propulsive explosives. Furthermore, they usually bought at high

prices cargoes that were diverted from their destination. Some of their measures were so drastic, however, that in the early months of the war it seemed possible that our most serious controversies might be with them rather than with the Central Powers. Late in 1914 the United States made formal protest against some of the Allied measures, and during the next two years there was much diplomatic argument along these lines. But the questionable acts of the Allies endangered only property and not human lives, and for this reason our protests to the Allies were less vigorous than to Germany, whose violations of the laws of nations resulted in the death of great numbers of neutrals, including many Americans.

The Central Powers early began to feel the effects of the stranglehold of the Allied sea-power, and realized that something must be done to counteract it. In their determination to rule the world or ruin it, the German War Lords decided upon one of the most ruthless acts ever taken by a

nation claiming to be civilized. First, however, they sought a plausible excuse.

On February 2, 1915, Great Britain announced that in future all shipments of food destined for Germany would be considered as absolute contraband and subject to seizure. In excuse she alleged that the German Government had just confiscated all grain held by private persons, and that probably any food going into Germany would be used for the army or navy.

The Germans violently protested and alleged that the Allies were seeking to condemn the whole German population, men, women, and children, to starvation. But their protests would have received more consideration in neutral countries had it not been well known that in 1870–71, when the German armies were besieging Paris, they reduced the population to the hard expedient of eating dogs and cats and even rats; that even while they were protesting German soldiers in Belgium and the occupied portions of France were tak-

ing food from the starving people. Those who understood German "frightfulness" were confident that had Germany, not Great Britain, controlled the seas she would long ago have laid a much more rigorous

Giving out rations in Belgium.

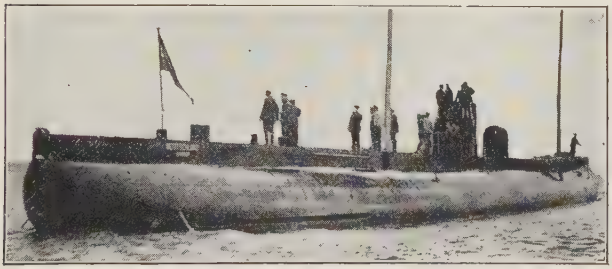
blockade than that the British had established. In fact, there was a concrete instance of what Germans would do in such matters when they had the power. Late in January, 1915, one of their raiding vessels, the Prince Eitel Friedrich, captured an American sailing-vessel, the William P. Fry, bound from Seattle to Queenstown

with a cargo of wheat, and sunk her on the excuse that wheat was contraband of war. All the German protests against the British policy regarding foodstuffs sounded hypocritical after that.

By way of retaliation against the Allied blockade measures Germany announced that after February 14 the waters around the British Isles would be considered a "war zone," in which enemy merchant vessels would "be destroyed, even if it will not always be possible to save their crews and passengers." Neutrals were warned against intrusting their people or goods on such ships, and even neutral vessels entering the zone would be liable to great danger.

As the war-ships of the German above-water navy rarely dared to venture far from their own coast, it was clear that the Germans intended to use their submarines in sinking merchant ships. One of the best-established rules of international law governing war at sea provided that merchant vessels must not be sunk until all on

board had been taken off—provided, of course, that the vessel could be sunk if she tried to escape. From the very nature of submarines it was clear that they could not take on board any considerable number of captured persons. The Germans



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The German submarine Deutschland.

meant, in fact, to force the crew and passengers to take to open boats, and in many instances, as events showed, they even torpedoed merchant vessels without giving any warning whatsoever.

The German announcement caused great uneasiness in neutral countries. On February 10 our Government warned Germany that in case her submarine commanders should destroy on the high seas an Ameri-

can vessel or the lives of American citizens, she would be held to a "strict accountability." Six days later Germany replied that she was obliged to answer Great Britain's method of naval warfare "with sharp counter-measures," and she disclaimed all responsibility for any "accidents" that might happen to neutral vessels entering the war zone.

Acting upon a hint contained in this note, Secretary of State Bryan sent to Great Britain and Germany identical notes suggesting a compromise whereby Germany should abandon her submarine campaign against merchant vessels, while Great Britain should permit food to be imported into Germany for the use of the civilian population. Germany returned a conditional acceptance, but Great Britain rejected the proposal and adopted still further restrictive measures.

The Germans hoped by their campaign of submarine "frightfulness" to strike a heavy blow at Allied commerce. One of their more specific objects was to interrupt

the shipment of munitions of war to their enemies. In America the making of such munitions was expanding with great rapidity, and it was a serious matter to the Teutons for the Entente Allies to have at their service the tremendous industrial system of the United States. The right of private individuals or corporations in a neutral state to sell munitions to a belligerent was fully established under international law. The great firm of Krupp, of which Germans were exceedingly proud, had, for example, sold munitions to one or both belligerents in practically every war for many years. But Germans and Austrians now began to allege that we were guilty of a breach of neutrality in permitting the traffic to continue, and an effort was made to bring about the levying of an embargo against such exports. Pro-German agents in the United States emphasized the argument that by selling munitions to the Entente we were helping to prolong the war. In their labors they were aided by certain narrow-visioned paci-

fists who had such a horror of war that they believed it would be better to let wrong triumph than for the shedding of blood to continue.

In spite of protests, Germany on the day appointed (February 18, 1915) inaugurated her submarine warfare against merchant ships. In a few weeks the U-boats sank a large number of Allied ships and of neutral ships as well. In some cases warning was given before the fatal torpedo was fired; in many cases the first intimation those on the doomed ship received was the explosion of the missile. Great numbers of persons, of every age and sex, were slain by these explosions or were drowned when the vessels sank. In practically every case the survivors were compelled to embark in open boats, often when the sea was running dangerously high or when they were long distances from land. Many such unfortunates were subsequently drowned or died of thirst, cold, or starvation.

Serious infringements upon American rights were not long delayed. Late in

March, in the torpedoing of the British passenger-steamer Falaba in St. George's Channel, more than a hundred persons lost their lives, among them being an American engineer named Leon C. Thrasher. On May 1 the American steamer Gulflight,

The Lusitania.

bound for France with a cargo of oil, was torpedoed without warning; two of the crew were drowned, and her captain later died of nervous shock. But the worst outrage was yet to come.

On May 1 there sailed from the port of New York the great British passenger-liner Lusitania, with almost 2,000 souls on board. Advertisements inserted by the German Embassy at Washington had ap-

peared in certain newspapers warning Americans against the dangers of entering the war zone, and it is said that some passengers had received telegrams of the same tenor. Little attention, however, was paid to these warnings, for our government had issued its "strict-accountability" warning, and few people believed that Germany would dare to sink such a ship, or would be stupid enough to do so.

All went prosperously until the afternoon of May 7, when, off the southeast coast of Ireland, the great ship was torpedoed without warning and soon sank. In all 1,198 persons lost their lives, including 286 women and 94 children, many of the last being mere babes in arms. Of the total number, 114 were American citizens, including Charles Frohman, Charles Klein, Alfred G. Vanderbilt, and Elbert Hubbard.

In Germany the sinking of the Lusitania was considered a great naval triumph. In some places school-children were given a vacation in order to celebrate the victory, and special commemoration medals were struck. In an effort to evade responsibility

the German Government instructed Count von Bernstorff, its Ambassador at Washington, "to express its deepest sympathy at the loss of lives on board the Lusitania. The responsibility rests, however, with the British Government, which, through its plan of starving the civilian population of Germany, has forced Germany to resort to retaliatory measures." German agents in America also spread false stories to the effect that the ship was armed with naval guns, and that the chief damage had been done by the explosion of munitions on board. By these tactics they hoped to confuse the issue and to divide American sentiment.

Here and there in the United States a few pro-Germans ventured to defend the dastardly deed, but the general feeling, even among persons who hitherto had sympathized with Germany, was one of profound horror. Ex-President Roosevelt denounced the act as "not merely piracy, but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than old-time pirates ever practised."

Some Americans were pusillanimous

enough to advocate that we should bow before the "mailed fist," and endure the violation of our rights. President Wilson decided to protest but hoped to avoid extreme measures. In a speech made in Philadelphia soon after the tragedy he said: "There is such a thing as being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." Critics of the President declared that such language was unfortunate when he was about to send a protest to a Government that had shown in innumerable ways that it cared nothing for justice or the good opinion of the world, and could be impressed only by fear.

On May 13 a note of protest signed by Bryan but really written by the President himself was sent to Germany. It emphasized, many felt that it overemphasized, the previous friendly relations between the two peoples. It upheld the right of Americans to travel on the high seas and specified the case of the Lusitania and other

cases in which that right had been violated by Germany. It contended that it would be practically impossible to use submarines as commerce destroyers "without an inevitable violation of many principles of justice and humanity," and it called upon Germany to disavow the acts of its submarine commanders, to make reparation, and to prevent the repetition of such injuries. It closed by saying that "the Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

The German Government procrastinated, and when it finally replied (May 28), the answer was evasive and unsatisfactory. Regret was expressed for the loss of American lives, and reparation was promised for the sinking of the Gulflight, which was said to have resulted from the mistake of a U-boat commander, but the sinking of the

Falaba and Lusitania were defended as acts of "just self-defense."

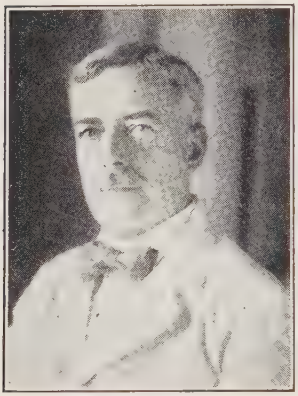
James Gerard, our Ambassador at Berlin, says in his *My Four Years in Germany* that the American protest was not taken very seriously by the German authorities. He relates that Zimmermann, German Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, told an American woman there was no need of worrying about the breaking of diplomatic relations, for information had been received from the Austrian Government that Dr. Constantin Dumba, the Austrian Ambassador at Washington, had cabled that Secretary of State Bryan had said to him that "the Lusitania note from America to Germany was only sent as a sop to public opinion in America, and that the Government did not really mean what was said

Ambassador James W. Gerard.

in that note." It seems incredible that an American Secretary of State could have been guilty of such an amazing indiscretion, but it is known that Dumba and Bryan did have an interview, and doubtless Dumba was able to discover that our Secretary of State was opposed to bringing matters to a crisis. So long as the Germans believed that America would confine herself to words they would not give way. They counted upon divided opinion in America, upon the pacifists, upon their partisans, including Senator William Stone, of Missouri, who as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held the third most important position in our diplomatic affairs, to prevent radical steps. Furthermore, there is ample testimony to the effect that our "watchful-waiting" policy in Mexico and President Wilson's "too-proud-to-fight" utterance were not lost upon the War Lords.

On June 8 Bryan suddenly resigned his position as Secretary of State. The explanation given out was that he feared the

new diplomatic note in preparation would involve us in war. It is probable, however, that Gerard's report as to Dumba's cablegram had something to do with the matter.



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Secretary of State Robert Lansing.

Robert Lansing, of New York, counsellor of the State Department, succeeded Bryan. Bryan's statement led the world to expect that the second Lusitania note would be a real ultimatum, but when it was given out it proved to be little more than a reiteration of the first protest. Germany procrastinated a month and again returned an unsatisfactory answer. Meanwhile, on May 25 another American vessel, the Nebraska, was torpedoed off the Irish coast, though luckily she did not sink. Germany long denied responsibility for the act, but her guilt was fully established by the finding

of fragments of a German torpedo. Both at home and abroad the long-winded de bate had become a subject of sarcastic comment, and American public opinion had grown very restive. The third American note, which was dated July 21, was more drastic. It characterized the German replies as "very unsatisfactory," and warned Germany that a repetition of the acts complained of would be regarded as "deliberately unfriendly." In the language of diplomacy this phrase has a special meaning, and connotes an act that will lead to the breaking of diplomatic relations, perhaps to war. Germany did not condescend to reply to this note.

Meanwhile, the Central Powers continued their efforts to put an end to the American munitions trade. On April 4, and again on June 29, Austria-Hungary protested that the trade constituted an infraction of our neutrality, but our Government defended the traffic as fully sanctioned under international law and cited numerous instances in which Germans had engaged in

it during past wars. The United States stood ready to sell munitions to the Central Powers also, and was not responsible for their inability to avail themselves of the opportunity. Furthermore, it was urged that to impose an embargo would constitute an affront to the Entente Powers, and that to set such a precedent might in future result in our being unable to purchase munitions in neutral markets should we become involved in a war.

Being unable to obtain an embargo, Teutonic agents resorted to violent means to prevent goods from reaching their enemies. Factories were burned or blown up, bombs were placed aboard vessels carrying cargoes to the Allies, and not only was much property destroyed but many lives were taken. Strikes were instigated in munitions factories, and German agents in Mexico stirred up Mexicans to murder Americans and even to raid American soil, the object being to involve the United States in a war with Mexico so as to distract our attention from European affairs.

A crack-brained German-American even exploded a time-bomb in the Supreme Court room of the Capitol, and made a murderous attack upon J. P. Morgan, Jr., the fiscal agent of the Allies in America, but was overpowered by Morgan and committed suicide in jail.

The full story of the intrigues and murderous activities during this period of the Teutonic agents in America would fill volumes. Despite the German atrocities in Belgium and France, their use of poison gas, their dropping of bombs upon defenseless cities, and their general policy of "frightfulness" on sea and land, many trustful Americans, not yet awake to the ruthless methods of the War Lords, refused to believe that such things were actually taking place. Our Government was at least partly aware that the Governments of the Central Powers were guilty of instigating what was occurring in this country, but it displayed a forbearance that by many people was considered weakness. In September, 1915, however, President Wil-

son demanded and secured the recall of Dumba for having tried to bring about strikes in munition plants, and later he obtained the recall of the German military and naval attachés, Captains Von Papen and Boy-Ed. But Von Bernstorff, though guilty of nefarious activities, was permitted to remain until the final severance of relations with Germany.

On August 19, 1915, a German submarine sunk the British liner Arabic, and two Americans lost their lives. Five days later Von Bernstorff, acting without authority from his Government, made vague promises of reparation, and on September 1 delivered to Secretary Lansing a statement to the effect that in future "liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance." Subsequently it was explained that the Arabic had been sunk by mistake and an apology was tendered, but Germany refused to pay an indemnity for the Americans killed and

proposed that the case be submitted to the Hague tribunal, but stipulated that the tribunal should not be permitted to pass judgment upon the general question of the legality of submarine warfare. In October, however, Von Bernstorff finally promised an indemnity for the Americans lost on the Arabic, but all efforts failed to induce Germany to make a settlement for the Lusitania horror.

By supporters of the administration the German concession was proclaimed a great diplomatic victory, but many critics took a less enthusiastic view. Time was to show that the promises of the German civil government amounted to little. The real power in Germany was held by the War Lords, who did not hesitate to violate the rights of neutrals when it suited their purpose and then to put forward the diplomatists, who were nothing more than puppets, to make excuses and engagements, which might or might not be carried out. Gerard, the American Ambassador, was well aware of this state of affairs at the time.

The insincerity of German promises was soon revealed by events in the Mediterranean. On November 7 off the coast of Tunis a submarine flying the Austrian flag sunk the Italian liner Ancona, and several Americans lost their lives. The United States was forced to take up with Austria-Hungary the whole submarine controversy anew. After much procrastination the Austro-Hungarian Government promised partial compliance with our demands. Subsequently it was learned that the submarine that sank the Ancona was really a German vessel masquerading under the Austrian flag. Attacks on passenger-ships in the Mediterranean continued, and on December 30, 1915, the steamer Persia was sunk without warning off the coast of Crete by a submarine that remained submerged. Two Americans, one of them our consul at Aden, were drowned. Both Germany and Austria blandly denied responsibility for the attack.

At the beginning of the Great War the probability that the United States would

become involved in it seemed very slight. Some prominent Americans, including Theodore Roosevelt, General Leonard Wood, and Congressman Augustus P. Gardner, of Massachusetts, early began to urge the need of increasing our army and navy as an insurance against encroachments on our rights. But pacifists and pro-Germans strongly opposed preparedness, and the mass of our people proved apathetic. Secretary of State Bryan declared that in case of danger "the United States could raise a million men between sunrise and sunset," and many Americans, unaware of the vital distinction between a mob and an army, saw no fallacy in the statement. In his annual message of December, 1914, President Wilson argued at length against the desirability of special

General Leonard Wood.

preparation, though he expressed himself in favor of provision for voluntary military training and improving the militia. "We must depend," he asserted, "in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms."

Gradually, however, a change in public opinion occurred. German "frightfulness" on land and sea, and the destruction of American lives, forced millions of Americans to realize that brute force was seeking to rule the world and that America was comparatively defenseless. But in spite of the Lusitania horror, the summer and fall of 1915 were permitted to pass without anything of much practical importance being done to remedy our weakness except the opening by General Wood of voluntary reserve officers' training-camps at Plattsburg.

In his annual message of December, 1915, President Wilson advocated the need of preparedness, and a little later he made

a speaking tour of the Middle West to arouse public sentiment in the subject. He declared that there was "not a day to be lost," but in speaking of possible dan-

Bridge built by engineers at the Plattsburg camp.

gers he displayed a vagueness that weakened his appeal. In the face of pacifist and pro-German opposition he faltered in his advocacy, nor did either party in Congress display a willingness strongly to support preparedness measures. Secretary of War Garrison, who favored adequate preparation, resigned (February 10, 1916) because he felt the lack of presidential support. He

was succeeded by ex-Mayor Newton D. Baker, of Cleveland, whom the advocates of preparedness considered to be decidedly pacifist in his tendencies.

Thereafter much precious time was lost in fruitless discussion, and the concrete results of the preparedness campaign were disappointing. There was a great show of appointing commissions and boards for defensive purposes, large sums were voted for both the army and navy, increases in the army were authorized, and the State militia was put under federal control. But in war-ships, guns, shells, rifles, airplanes, trained officers and men, the United States was but little stronger at the beginning of 1917 than in 1914.

During the winter of 1915–16 the worthlessness of German promises was made evident by occasional violations of the pledge made after the sinking of the Arabic. In March a particularly flagrant case occurred. The unarmed Channel packet Sussex was torpedoed without warning, and though she managed to reach a French

port, a large number of persons were killed by the explosion, including several Americans. Germany at first denied responsibility, but fragments of a German torpedo were found, and ultimately the German Government admitted that in the waters where the Sussex was struck a U-boat commander had fired a torpedo at what he supposed was an Allied war-ship.

On April 18 President Wilson sent to Berlin a note in which he pronounced the attack on the Sussex "manifestly indefensible," demanded that the responsible commander should be punished, said that the United States had been "very patient," and notified Germany that unless she should "now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

Finding further denial of the attack useless, Germany again promised to ob-

serve "the general principles of visitation and search." She also agreed to punish the U-boat commander who attacked the Sussex, but inquiries as to the character of his punishment were studiously ignored, and no one supposed that he was treated very rigorously. Germany expressly reserved the right to revoke her concession in case the United States did not force Great Britain to mitigate her blockade. President Wilson accepted the German promise once more, but said that the United States could not admit Germany's reservation. Upon this point Germany made no further response, and for a few months there were no more serious clashes.

The outcome of the Sussex affair was hailed by admirers of the President as another great bloodless diplomatic victory, illustrating the virtues of forbearance and patience. But many critics declined to regard the adjustment as more than temporary. They pointed to Germany's expressed reservation of the right to renew ruthless submarine warfare, and they de-

clared that she would keep her promise only so long as suited her interests. From Berlin Ambassador Gerard warned our Government that he "believed that the rulers of Germany would at some future date, forced by the Von Tirpitzes and the Conservative parties, take up ruthless submarine warfare again, possibly in the autumn, or at any rate about February or March, 1917." He repeated this warning when he visited the United States in the autumn.

In reality, as we now know and as many people suspected then, the War Lords were merely lulling the United States into a fool's paradise of false security. Meanwhile, German shipyards were kept busy night and day building more and bigger submarines so that when the time came for renewing "frightfulness" on the high seas, the attack would be the more irresistible.

An extremely interesting manifestation in this period was the immense amount of attention devoted by Americans to the

problem of ending the war and insuring peace in the future. Organizations for durable peace, societies to eliminate the economic causes of war, world's court leagues, leagues to enforce peace, and similar organizations sprang up like mushrooms after a warm spring rain. Speakers toured the country propounding their favorite panaceas for world ills and their nostrums for making future wars impossible. Among all the clamor there were some words of wisdom, but a large part of the discussion was chiefly notable for its heedlessness of realities. The climax of impracticality came when a well-known manufacturer, whose success as a business man was matched by his ignorance of world conditions, took (December, 1915) a ship-load of pacifists to Europe for the purpose of getting the soldiers "out of the trenches by Christmas." But all such efforts proved as unavailing as Canute's command to the tide, and war stubbornly persisted in raging not only in the Old World but even in near-by Mexico. While pacifists and op-

ponents of preparedness were confidently declaring that the United States would never again engage in war, we were already drifting toward the bloody maelstrom.

But during much of 1916 the attention of Americans was largely diverted from the World War by the quadrennial presidential contest, and to this subject we shall now turn our attention.

CHAPTER II

THE ELECTION OF 1916

THE years following 1912 witnessed an interesting struggle for survival between the Progressives and the Republicans. The Progressives decided to attempt to perpetuate their party. Within a few weeks after the election of Wilson they held many sectional conferences, and a national conference at Chicago (December 11–12, 1912) was attended by 1,500 persons representing every State in the Union. Plans were made for perfecting the party's organization and spreading its propaganda.

The disaster of 1912 had been a stunning blow to the "Old Guard" Republican leaders and convinced most of them of the need of a change in tactics. Conciliation, not coercion, speedily became their watchword. All sorts of arguments were advanced to convince the Progressives of the wisdom of returning to the party fold in

order to help wage war against the common enemy, the Democrats. As the Progressives had complained bitterly of the Republican national convention machinery, and especially of the over-representation of the Southern States, in which no real Republican party existed, the Republican national committee made some mild reforms in these matters. The excessive representation of the Southern States was considerably reduced, though not to a basis of the actual voting strength of the Republicans of those States. Under the new plan, in the Republican convention of 1916, the Southern States lost a total of 82 delegates.

For some time the Progressive leaders persisted in their plan of a separate party, but they soon found it impossible to prevent the return to the old party of many of the rank and file. The State and local elections of 1913 were distinctly discouraging to the Progressives and encouraging to the Republicans. The real test as to which would survive came in the elections of

1914. In that campaign Colonel Roosevelt, ex-Senator Beveridge, and other leaders waged a vigorous fight, but they were unable to turn the tide. The Progressives carried only one State, namely, California, where they re-elected Governor Johnson. Their representation in the national House of Representatives was cut from 15 to 7, and their popular vote fell to about 1,800,000, which was less than half the number two years before. It was clear to seasoned political observers that the Progressive party as a separate organization was doomed.

The Republicans also profited at the expense of the Democrats. Times were bad, great numbers were out of work, and many people were inclined to attribute this condition of affairs to the Underwood Tariff Bill and general Democratic incompetence. In consequence, there was a decided reaction against the party in power, and they were saved from a bad defeat only by the fact that the opposition was still divided. The Republicans carried most of their for-

mer strongholds and also New York. The Democrats managed to gain two seats in the Senate, but their majority in the House was cut from 147 to 29.

In this election, in accordance with the new Seventeenth Amendment, Senators were for the first time elected by popular vote instead of by the legislatures. Another feature of the election was that the Socialists again elected a member of the House, in the person of Meyer London, of New York City. Victor Berger, their member in the existing House, was defeated by a combination of Republicans and Democrats.

Before the election of 1916 rolled round new issues had been injected into politics. "Watchful waiting" in Mexico, with its accompaniment of outrages upon American citizens, created great discontent, while the administration's policy with regard to the European war and the submarine horrors provoked bitter criticism.

The lead in assailing Wilson's management of foreign affairs was taken by Colonel Roosevelt, who in speeches and

magazine articles attacked in vitriolic terms the President's foreign policy and his failure to secure real preparedness. He vigorously advocated thorough military and naval preparedness as the best insurance, in the circumstances, against war, and he demanded a vigorous enforcement, in the old-fashioned way, of American rights. Of the administration's management of the Lusitania affair he said that "the President wrote note after note, each filled with lofty expressions and each sterile in its utter futility, because it did not mean action, and Germany knew it did not mean action." He declared that Wilson had been strong in words but weak in action, that he had met the German "policy of blood and iron with a policy of milk and water," that his foreign policy was "worthy of a Byzantine logothete—but not of an American statesman."

A day came when the American people realized the wisdom of Roosevelt's ideas regarding preparedness and the war, but at the time public opinion on these matters was greatly confused. Pacifists opposed

all attempts at preparedness or a more vigorous policy, and the pacifists were ably aided by the pro-Germans. The demand from Europe for American goods had greatly stimulated industry, and the country was exceedingly prosperous. The party in power pointed to its record of legislation and to the fact that while most of the great nations were locked in a bloody struggle, the United States was at peace.

Among Progressive leaders, as well as among those of the Republicans, there had now come to be a strong desire to formulate some plan for united action against the common enemy, the party in power. By mutual agreement the Progressive and Republican conventions both assembled in Chicago on the same day (June 7, 1916). They met in separate halls, but extended negotiations were carried on in the hope that some agreement might be reached as to a common platform and candidates.

The chief Republican candidates were Justice Charles E. Hughes, ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root, former Vice-President

Fairbanks, Senator Cummins, of Iowa, Senator John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts, Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, and Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio. A considerable number of Republicans favored nominating Roosevelt, and the Progressives declared they would accept no other man. In a statement issued upon returning from a visit to the West Indies, Roosevelt said that he did not care to be President unless the country was in a "heroic mood," that is, was willing to back him up in asserting American rights in an effective way. Had Americans been able to look into the future and behold what the next year would bring, his nomination and election would probably have been a certainty, but at this time the people were generally in a money-getting rather than a heroic mood.

On the first ballot Hughes received 253 votes, Weeks 105, Root 103, Cummins 87, Burton 82, Fairbanks 72, Roosevelt 67, and Sherman 63. On the second ballot a strong movement set in toward Hughes,

and on the third ballot he was nominated. For the Vice-Presidency the Republicans once more named Fairbanks, of Indiana.

The Republican platform denounced Wilson's foreign policy and declared that by "phrase-making and shifty expedients" he had "destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes." Special emphasis was laid upon Wilson's "indefensible methods of interference" in Mexican affairs, and aid was pledged to restore order there, while adequate protection was to be given American interests. Military and naval preparedness were advocated, though in rather vague terms. The Underwood Tariff Act was declared to be "a complete failure in every respect."

The Progressives had watched the course of events in the Republican convention, and when the second ballot showed that there was no hope of Roosevelt being accepted, they proceeded to nominate him themselves at about the same time that Hughes was named by the Republicans. For Vice-President they put forward John M. Parker,

of Louisiana, a former Democrat. But Roosevelt realized the futility of making another campaign, and, after considering the matter for some time, he definitely declined to run and urged the Progressives to support Hughes. Parker continued in the contest, but he received very little support, and the Progressive party practically disappeared.

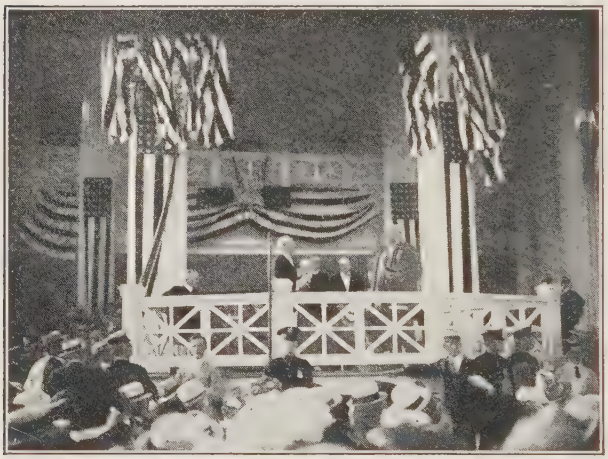
Charles Evans Hughes.

Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican nominee, was born at Glens Falls, New York, in 1862. He graduated from Brown University in 1881 and from the Columbia Law School in 1884. He first sprang into general prominence in 1905–6 by conducting, as counsel, an investigation that was being made by the New York Legislature into the management of the great insurance companies of the State; this investigation uncovered some startling facts, and in consequence Mr. Hughes became known all

over the country. In 1906 he was elected Governor of New York and was re-elected in 1908, and by his reforming zeal won golden opinions among good citizens everywhere. In 1908 he was a strong competitor for the Republican presidential nomination but was defeated by Taft. In October, 1910, he resigned the governorship to become an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. As he had taken no part in the contest of 1912, his nomination was perhaps as satisfactory to Republicans and Progressives as any that could have been made.

The Democratic national convention met at St. Louis on June 14. Woodrow Wilson was renominated by acclamation, and but little opposition was made to the renomination of Thomas R. Marshall for the Vice-Presidency. Few serious differences of opinion developed, and a prearranged programme was carried through without important alteration. The platform was a panegyric upon the alleged achievements of the administration, and floods of oratory

were loosed in praise of the President and his associates. His course regarding Mexico was defended, and the claim was advanced that in dealing with the European belligerents the President had won remark-



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President Wilson receiving the notification of his nomination to serve a second term.

able diplomatic triumphs. On this last topic Senator Ollie James, of Kentucky, declared that "without orphaning a single American child, without firing a single gun or shedding a drop of blood, Woodrow Wilson wrung from the most militant spirit

that ever brooded over a battle-field a recognition of American rights and an agreement to American demands."

As usual, a number of minor parties placed tickets in the field. The Prohibitionists nominated ex-Governor Frank J. Hanly, of Indiana, for the Presidency, while the Socialists named Allan L. Benson, of New York, and the Socialist Labor party supported Arthur Reimer, of Massachusetts.

During the campaign the Democrats made much of their record during the past three years, and laid great emphasis upon the fact that the President had kept the country "out of war." The main issue of the campaign was, in fact, our foreign relations, but both parties felt it necessary to deal with the subject rather gingerly.

In the Republican platform and in the speeches of many Republican orators the Wilson administration was severely denounced for its weak foreign policy, but by far the greatest emphasis was laid upon Mexican affairs, and comparatively little

was said about the sinking of the Lusitania and other submarine horrors. Colonel Roosevelt, however, did not hesitate to speak out in plain terms and to denounce Germany. He characterized Wilson's diplomacy in both Mexican and European affairs as weak and pusillanimous, and constantly declared that his policy made for war, not peace. His speeches gave great offense to pacifists and pro-Germans. Though in no sense a pro-German, Justice Hughes was during most of the campaign much more reserved in his language, though he spoke out more vigorously toward the end.

The Democrats, too, were not averse to receiving pro-German votes, but they defended the President's course against certain pro-German elements that were assailing it. Near the end of the campaign a pro-German agitator named Jeremiah O'Leary wrote an offensive letter to the President predicting his defeat, to which Wilson replied: "I would feel deeply mortified to have you or anybody like you vote for me. Since you have access to many

disloyal Americans and I have not, I will ask you to convey this message to them." This defiance of foreign influence undoubtedly won Wilson many votes.

In the middle of the campaign the demands of railway engineers, firemen, and conductors for an eight-hour day and for other concessions precipitated a grave labor crisis. The railway brotherhoods refused to submit the question to the Federal Board of Mediation and Dispute, and on August 28 their representatives left Washington carrying orders for a general railway strike to begin September 4. On August 29 Wilson asked Congress to pass remedial legislation, and a hundred hours later the Adamson Eight-Hour Bill was ready for his signature. This act established an eight-hour day for trainmen on interstate railways more than one hundred miles in length, and provided that the question of wages should be submitted to a commission, which ultimately granted large increases. Opponents of the law criticised some of its features, declared that the Government had been

coerced into enacting it, and predicted that the precedent thus established would be fruitful of future trouble.

The early returns that came into New York City on election night were such that most metropolitan newspapers, including even those of Democratic leanings, announced that the Republicans had won. Mr. Hughes had, in fact, carried New York and Indiana and other "doubtful" States, but President Wilson had won in the South and in Ohio, and proved stronger in the West than had been anticipated, winning Kansas and almost all of the States in which women voted. The result finally hinged upon California, and days passed before belated returns from back districts could be brought in and tabulated. Soon after his nomination Mr. Hughes had made a campaign tour in California, and while there he had failed to meet Governor Hiram Johnson, former Progressive nominee for the Vice-Presidency, who was now seeking the Republican nomination for United States Senator. For this fatal blunder

Hughes's managers were primarily to blame, but though Johnson supported Hughes in his speeches, many of his friends refused to overlook the slight and voted for Wilson. In consequence, though Johnson carried the State by almost 300,000, Hughes lost it by 3,773, and with it the Presidency. The electoral result finally stood 277 for Wilson and 254 for Hughes.

The discrepancy between the vote of Hughes and that of Johnson was, however, only partly due to the failure of Hughes to recognize Johnson. In California, as in all other States, the Democratic cry, "He kept us out of war," won Wilson many votes. This slogan was particularly effective in States having woman suffrage. Furthermore, although a majority of Progressives undoubtedly followed Roosevelt back into the Republican party, a very large minority refused to return to their former party affiliations. It was the general judgment of political observers that the Republicans had managed their campaign very badly, and by blundering had

lost what might have been a comparatively easy victory.

The Democrats won a plurality of over half a million of the popular vote and retained control of the Senate by a majority of ten. In the House of Representatives the balance of power would be held by a few Progressives and other independents, and upon their attitude depended the question of which party would be able to organize that body and elect the Speaker. For the first time in our history a woman was elected to the House of Representatives in the person of Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Montana. Another feature of the election was the decline in the Socialist vote, which fell to less than 600,000.

CHAPTER III

THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE WAR

DURING the summer and fall of 1916 the German U-boats repeatedly violated the pledge given after the sinking of the Sussex, but as comparatively little harm resulted to our interests, our Government saw fit to ignore these violations. The year had been a hard one for the Central Powers. The pressure of the Allied blockade had still further injured their industries and had brought them closer to national bankruptcy. After months of desperate fighting the German attack at Verdun had been defeated by the French with heavy losses to the assailants. In July the British had launched a great attack along the Somme and had pushed it with vigor for many months, inflicting upon the Germans hundreds of thousands of casualties. Meanwhile, the Russians had launched a drive in Galicia, had won a victory over the Aus-

trians, and had only been checked after terrific fighting that still further weakened the Teutonic armies. Late in August Rumania had at last thrown in her lot with the Entente, but, by energetic action, the Teutons managed to defeat her, and by the

An ammunition train going through the ruins of a Somme city.

end of the year two-thirds of the country had been overrun. This victory helped to revive Teutonic hopes, but the people of the Central Powers were in serious distress, and their rulers realized that it was necessary to hold up before them another will-o'-the-wisp.

On December 12, therefore, the German Government created a world-wide sensation by announcing willingness to hold a peace conference. But the language used was vainglorious, no concessions were offered, and many observers believed that the main Teutonic hope was to sow dissension among the Allies, and that if a peace conference failed, the Central Powers would resort to some new policy of "frightfulness."

From the beginning of the war President Wilson had hoped that he might be able to play the rôle of peacemaker, and had made repeated overtures in this direction to the belligerents. There had been, in fact, many interchanges of opinion of which the general public knew nothing. The President's chief agent in these negotiations was Colonel Edward M. House, of Texas, who repeatedly visited the European capitals on mysterious missions. It was President Wilson's idea during these years that there must be a peace by compromise. The Allies and millions of Americans believed, on the other hand, that there could

be no peace until the nations responsible for the war had been forced to make restitution for wrongs done and to provide guarantees against future offending.

Before Germany announced her proposal for a peace conference the President had decided that the time had come to make a new peace effort. On December 18 he sent a note to all the belligerents suggesting that the leaders on both sides should state their views as to the terms upon which the war might be ended. When asked by newspaper men to explain this note, Secretary of State Lansing confessed that it was sent because American rights were becoming more and more involved and "we were drawing near the verge of war ourselves." These pessimistic words precipitated a serious stock panic, nor was the country entirely reassured by a second more optimistic statement.

The President's note drew replies from both belligerents, but it accomplished nothing toward ending the conflict. The Central Powers in their response merely

proposed a peace conference and evaded naming their terms of peace. The Entente nations reiterated their views as to reparation and guarantees for the future. A homily delivered (January 22, 1917) by President Wilson before the Senate on world peace and methods for obtaining it proved equally ineffective. In the speech he expressed himself in favor of a "League of Peace," and set forth the principles upon which he thought the war should be ended. There must, he declared, be "a peace without victory," "freedom of the seas," limitation of armaments, and avoidance of "entangling alliances."

Nine days later the German Government suddenly informed the United States that at twelve o'clock that night the U-boats would resume their ruthless warfare upon merchantmen. "Barred zones" into which even neutral ships were not to be permitted to enter were created around the British Isles, along the western coast of France, and in the most of the Mediterranean. Any ship entering these zones, no matter what

its cargo, ownership, port of departure, or destination, was to be sunk without regard to the safety of passengers or crew. As a special concession to the United States, however, we were to be permitted to send one ship a week to Falmouth in England, but such ships must fly the American flag, must be distinctively painted on hulls and superstructures, and the American Government must guarantee that the vessels carried no contraband of war.

Several explanations of Germany's astonishing decision to defy not only the United States but the rest of the neutral world have been offered. It is beyond question, however, that the Teutonic War Lords realized that their situation was desperate and that only desperate expedients could break the stranglehold of the Allied blockade and enable the Central Powers to triumph. They hoped that the United States would take no action beyond diplomatic protests. Ambassador Gerard says: "The Germans believed that President Wilson had been elected by a mandate

to keep out of war at all cost, and that America could be insulted, flouted, and humiliated with impunity." He declares that both Secretary of Foreign Affairs Zimmermann and the Imperial Chancellor told him that America would do nothing. Furthermore, as Von Ludendorff states in a book written after the war, German leaders knew the deplorable military weakness of the United States and that fully a year must elapse before we could become a serious factor in the conflict. They hoped and expected to win the war before American troops in considerable numbers could reach the field of action. In a speech delivered after his return to America, Gerard declared: "If we had a million men under arms to-day, we would not be near the edge of war."

President Wilson was profoundly moved by the news, but he was convinced that forbearance had at last ceased to be a virtue. On February 3 he directed that Von Bernstorff should be given his passports and that Gerard and our other representa-

tives in Germany should be recalled. In announcing this action in a speech before Congress the same day he stated that only "actual overt acts" would convince him that Germany would persist in her ruthless naval programme, but that if his "inveterate confidence" should prove unfounded, he would again appear before Congress and ask authority to use means to protect our rights on the seas.

Some Americans, especially pacifists and pro-Germans, had urged that we should bow supinely before the Hohenzollern fist, but the great mass of our people approved the President's course in breaking off diplomatic relations. In Germany the news created surprise and some apprehension.

Nevertheless, Germany persisted in her piratical course, and her U-boats speedily sank great numbers of ships, including many belonging to neutrals. Some violations of American rights soon occurred, but for a time there were none of so clear-cut a character that the President chose to consider that an "overt act" had been com-

mitted. The danger from submarines was so great, however, that many American ship-owners refused to send their vessels to European waters unless the Government would furnish protection. In consequence, American docks became congested with freight, and it seemed possible that, even though we had refused to admit Germany's right to resort to ruthless submarine warfare, she might succeed in her purpose. For this and other reasons President Wilson on February 26 appeared before Congress and said that he deemed it wise for the United States to assume an attitude of "armed neutrality." He expressed the belief that he already possessed power to arm merchantmen, but he asked that Congress should specifically authorize him to do so.

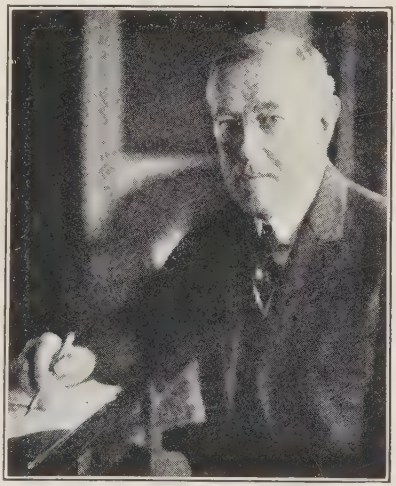
The same day word reached the United States that in sinking the British passenger-steamer Laconia a German U-boat had caused the death of two American women. The feeling aroused by this news was still further inflamed three days later when our Government published an intercepted des-

patch from Zimmermann, German Foreign Secretary, inciting Mexico to attack the United States. Germany was to give "general financial support," while to Mexico was assigned the task of reconquering "the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona." It was also suggested that the President of Mexico should persuade Japan to make peace with Germany and declare war on the United States. Both Mexico and Japan contemptuously denied any intention of accepting this characteristic Teutonic proposal, but publication of the despatch served to convince the most sceptical of Americans that the War Lords would stop at nothing.

A great wave of patriotic feeling swept over the United States. A resolution authorizing the arming of merchantmen and appropriating $100,000,000 for this and kindred purposes passed the House by a vote of 403 to 13. But in the Senate a little knot of Senators, including Stone, of Missouri, and La Follette, of Wisconsin, filibustered against the measure, and the

session closed before it could be brought to a vote. As a result of the filibuster many other important bills failed to pass.

As March 4 fell upon Sunday, President Wilson went through the ceremony of taking the oath of office on that day, but he was not formally inaugurated until the 5th. Because of the critical international situation the ceremonies were unusually simple, and an air of great solemnity marked the occasion. In his address the President warned the country that, though standing firm in armed neutrality, we might be compelled to enter the struggle.



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President Woodrow Wilson.

On March 9 the President summoned

Congress to meet in special session on April 16. Three days later he announced that naval guns, manned by naval officers and men, would be placed on American vessels sailing for the war zone. Orders were issued to fire at German submarines on sight.

Meanwhile, the submarines had been waging ruthless warfare with startling success. Hospital ships, Belgian relief ships, neutral ships, even six grain-laden Dutch ships to which the Germans had promised safe passage, were sent to the bottom. Berlin claimed that during February the U-boats had sunk 292 hostile ships and 76 neutral ships, having a total gross tonnage of 781,500. Great Britain admitted a total loss of only 490,000 tons, but it is now known that the German figures were more nearly correct.

In the third week of March word reached Washington that three American ships had been sunk and that American lives had been lost. By this time it had become clear to President Wilson that his "armed-neutral-

ity" policy did not meet the needs of the situation. He therefore summoned Congress to meet two weeks earlier in order "to consider grave matters of international policy."

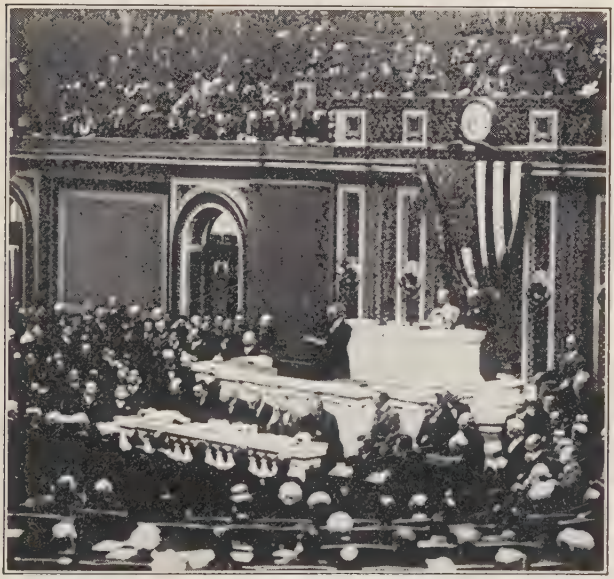
A keen realization of our imperilled and almost defenseless condition swept over the United States. The situation was full of dire possibilities. If the German submarine campaign against Great Britain succeeded, and it seemed in real danger of succeeding, Great Britain would be starved into submission and would be forced to accept any terms the Teutonic War Lords chose to dictate. They might even force her to surrender her fleet, and they might then use it to conquer the United States. Our own fleet was too weak to meet the German fleet, much less the German fleet reinforced by that of Britain. And it was clear that should this happen we could not improvise in time an army capable of defeating the forces that Germany could speedily transport to our shores. To save ourselves and the world from Teutonic domination we must throw in our lot with the Allies.

Pacifists and pro-Germans flooded the President and Congress with letters and telegrams urging that the United States should continue neutral, and thousands went to Washington to urge this policy in person. But great bands of militant "Patriot Pilgrims" also journeyed to the Capital to demand that the nation should live up to the traditions of a glorious past and enter the conflict on the side of humanity and civilization.

"Diplomacy has failed," said the Chaplain of the House of Representatives in his opening prayer. "Moral suasion has failed. Appeals to reason have been swept aside. We abhor war and love peace, but if war has been or shall be forced upon us, we pray that the heart of every American citizen may throb with patriotic feeling, and that a united people may rally around our President to hold up his hands in every measure deemed necessary to protect the lives of American citizens and safeguard our inheritance."

By evening of the day of meeting Con-

gress was ready to listen to the President, and he appeared before the joint session and delivered his momentous message.



Photograph by C. V. Buck. Copyright by Underwood & Underwood.
President Wilson delivering his War Message to Congress.

Submarine warfare, he declared, had become so destructive and unrestrained that it constituted "a warfare against mankind." Armed neutrality had proven "impractical" and "ineffective," and a new choice must be made. "There is one choice

we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated."

He therefore asked that Congress declare that the course of the German Government constituted war against the United States, and that the necessary steps be taken to bring the German Government to terms and end the struggle. There must be, he said, the closest possible co-operation with the other nations that were at war with Germany, and they must be aided by liberal financial credits. The material resources of the nation must be mobilized. The navy must be enlarged, especially with the best means for fighting the submarines. He recommended that to the military forces already authorized an immediate addition should be made of at least 500,000 men, "chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service."

Our quarrel, he asserted, was not with the German people but with their despotic

Government. This Government, the Prussian autocracy, "was not, and never could be our friend." From the beginning of the war it had "filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries, and our commerce. Indeed, it it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began." "This natural foe to liberty" must be defeated, and "the world must be made safe for democracy."

"There are, it may be," he concluded in a splendid passage, "many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own

governments, for the rights and liberties of all nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a free concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace that she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

Resolutions recognizing the existence of a state of war and authorizing the President to use the army and navy against the Imperial German Government were quickly introduced in both houses of Congress. In the Senate they were opposed by Stone and La Follette and a few others, but on the night of April 4–5 they passed by a vote of 82 to 6. In the House, Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina, the Democratic floor leader, opposed the resolutions, but

in the early morning of April 6 they were adopted by 373 to 50.

One of those who voted against the resolutions was Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, the first woman ever elected to Congress. She had taken her seat only four days before, and had attracted great attention. She failed to answer to her name on the first roll-call on the resolutions, but on the second roll-call she stood up, and, in a frightened voice, sobbed: "I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war." Still she did not formally cast her vote, but finally in response to continued demands from some of her colleagues, she whispered, "No," and sank back into her seat.

The Teutonic War Lords and their creatures endeavored to make light of America's entry into the conflict. They sneered at the weakness of our army and navy, and declared that the submarines would bring the Allies to their knees before the United States could be ready to play an active part. Nevertheless, America's decision re-

verberated around the world. It vastly encouraged the Allied peoples, for it put on their side the stupendous resources in men, money, and materials of potentially the most powerful nation on the globe. It influenced numerous other nations, among them Cuba, Brazil, China, Panama, and Bolivia, to break diplomatic relations with Germany or to declare war upon her. Nor, in spite of their sneers, were the Germans and their allies able to view with real equanimity the adhesion of so mighty a nation to their foes.

The Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs were doomed.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN PREPARATIONS

At the moment that America entered the Great War, the prospects of the Allies appeared black. The U-boats were sinking merchant ships by hundreds, and the waters off the coast of western France and around the British Isles were filled with floating wreckage. In a single week of April the submarines sank nearly 50 vessels of more than 1,600 tons and many smaller boats. The Teutons confidently boasted that in three months they would force the British to submit, and it was clearly evident to those who understood the situation that unless some means could be found to check the submarines, Great Britain, dependent upon the outside world for much of her supply of food, would be compelled to accept any terms her enemy might dictate. Admiral Sims, who reached England in this period from America, re-

lates in his book that he found the British authorities extremely pessimistic. In fact, only Lloyd George displayed confidence that the war could still be won, and his belief was based not so much upon the actual outlook as upon his faith that Providence would not permit wrong to triumph.

Another circumstance which served to darken the Allied outlook was that in March a sudden revolution in Russia resulted in the overthrow of the Czar and the setting up of a revolutionary government. The downfall of the Russian autocracy was greeted with joy by many persons even in Allied countries, but keen-sighted men foresaw that it would be likely to paralyze Russian military efforts and so the event proved. In July Alexander Kerensky, Russian Minister of War, succeeded by eloquent appeals in galvanizing the Russian army into attempting an offensive. Some temporary successes were obtained but the attack soon broke down and disaster followed. German secret agents managed to confuse Russian counsels. The army be-

came wholly demoralized, the vast Muscovite Empire broke into fragments, and Bolshevism arose amid the ruins. The Russian collapse rendered it unnecessary

An Italian outpost high up in the mountains.

for the Central Powers to maintain strong armies along the eastern front, and enabled them to concentrate most of their forces along the western and Italian fronts.

One consequence of Russia's faltering was that the United States was forced to play a larger part in the war than many

Americans had supposed would be necessary. Unfortunately, we were not well prepared for the task, and it was clear that many months must pass before we could make our real strength felt. Our regular army on April 1, 1917, numbered less than 128,000 officers and men, and a considerable proportion had been enlisted in the last few months, and were not adequately trained. The National Guard under federal control amounted to 80,000 men. Some of the Guard and a large part of the regular army had seen service on the Mexican border, but no efforts had been made to train either officers or men in the methods of the new warfare. We had about 600,000 excellent New Springfield rifles, but did not possess adequate machinery for making rifles of this type in vast quantities. As a result many of our troops were ultimately armed with the British model rifles made in American factories and rechambered to carry the Springfield cartridges. The army had only a few motor-trucks, few machine-guns, no really

up-to-date field-pieces, and not a single airplane fit to meet German planes in battle in the skies.

The great immediate need was ships with which to oppose submarines, and for-

A submarine patrol-boat.

tunately the navy was more forehanded than the army. Up to 1912 our navy had surpassed that of Germany but it had since become much weaker. Still it contained eleven completed dreadnoughts and over a score of pre-dreadnought battleships. Inasmuch, however, as Great Britain was vastly superior to Germany in

battleships, our most valuable contribution to Allied success took the form of lighter vessels. Destroyers had proved to be the most effective weapons against the submarine, and of these we had over fifty completed and others in process of construction. All these were supplemented by light cruisers and by large numbers of converted yachts, and by hastily constructed submarine chasers.

Very few Americans realized the tremendous task involved in building a modern military machine. Some had the comfortable notion that armies could be created simply by calling men to the colors; others had the cheerful delusion that American inventive genius would speedily evolve devices with which our enemies could be easily defeated with safety to ourselves. Gradually, however, these erroneous beliefs evaporated, and the stern fact was brought home to the American people that the war could be won only by lavish expenditure of blood and treasure properly organized and directed.

The truth was that the United States was confronted with the most stupendous task of improvisation in all history, and that if we were to play any real part toward win-

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Making cartridges at the Bethlehem Steel Works.

ning the victory, we must pour out money in floods hitherto undreamed of. Fortunately, the Allied armies were fighting our battles, and the protection furnished by them would enable us to carry along our preparations undisturbed by the enemy. Our Allies willingly furnished hundreds of experienced officers to teach our officers

and men the methods of the new warfare. But we must not be dilatory, for "Time and Von Hindenburg waited for no man," and Allied failure to take into account sufficiently the time factor in warfare—always important, and now more than ever so—had repeatedly been responsible for great disasters.

Marshal Joffre.

British and French commissions speedily visited the United States in order to arrange plans of cooperation. That from Great Britain was headed by Foreign Secretary Balfour, that from France by ex-Premier Viviani and the immortal General Joffre, victor of the Marne. Another member of the French commission was M. de Chambrun, a lineal descendant of Lafayette. Both commissions visited many of the important cities of the country and were greeted with great enthusiasm. Com-

missions from other Allied states subsequently came to the United States and were well received.

Before the end of April Congress appropriated $7,000,000,000, a sum greater than that expended by the Union in the Civil War, and authorized its use not only for our own military and naval efforts but also as loans to our Allies. Recruiting for the army and navy, however, proceeded slowly, and it became clear that some method of conscription must be used. A selective service bill along lines approved by the President was introduced in Congress. It met with considerable opposition, but in the middle of May it passed both houses by large majorities.

It authorized the President to raise the regular army to 220,000, the maximum number provided by the act of June, 1916, and to draft into the federal service the National Guard and the National Guard reserves. All men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty inclusive were required to register. From those thus regis-

tered the President was authorized to call out by a selective process 500,000 men, and then 500,000 more. Later in the war the age limits were extended to from eighteen

Drafted men arriving at one of the army training-camps.

to forty-five years. The total number of men registered was about 24,000,000. Ultimately about 4,000,000 men served in the army, about 800,000 in the navy, marine corps, and other services.

British experience had shown that a private soldier could be given sufficient training in a few months to render him an

efficient fighting man, especially if put into an already established military organization. The problem of training officers was a much more difficult one. The officers in the regular army and in the National Guard

Inspection at the naval training-camp, San Diego, California.

formed a valuable nucleus, but their number was wholly inadequate for the great expansion of the army. Many men from the ranks and from civil life were given commissions, but chief dependence was placed upon officers' training-camps, many of which were opened in various parts of the country. These camps were conducted along the lines employed by General Leon-

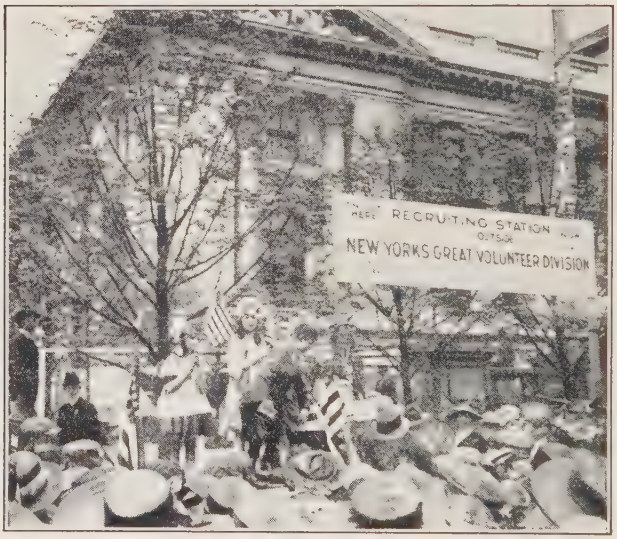
ard Wood at Plattsburg in 1915. Experienced officers sent over by France and Great Britain proved invaluable in the work of training officers and men, both new and old. Altogether about 96,000 officers, about two-thirds of the line officers, were graduates of these camps. Like most of our war preparations, however, this method of training officers was improvisation, and justifiable only on grounds of sheer necessity.

Before the breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany, ex-President Roosevelt had applied to the Secretary of War for permission, in case of hostilities, to raise a division of volunteers, and later he offered to raise two, or perhaps even four. He did not ask for chief command over this force, but declared himself willing to go as a junior brigadier. The administration frowned upon this proposal, but Congress incorporated into the Selective Service bill a provision authorizing the President to accept not to exceed four divisions of volunteers, none of them to be

men under twenty-five years old. The remarkable success of the Rough Riders in the Spanish-American War and confidence in Roosevelt personally led more than 300,000 hardy spirits—more than had thus far volunteered in the regular army and the National Guard—to offer their services to the ex-President. Those who favored the plan believed that it would greatly hearten the Allies to have such a powerful force appear in France under the most famous of living Americans, but Secretary of War Baker and President Wilson refused to accept the offer, alleging military considerations and public needs. Colonel Roosevelt, believing that the real reasons were political and personal, declared that "President Wilson's reasons for refusing my offer had nothing to do either with military considerations or with public needs."

To obtain money with which to run the war Congress imposed new and heavier taxes and authorized the issuance of war-saving certificates (usually called thrift

stamps), certificates of indebtedness, and Government bonds. By far the greatest amount of money was obtained from the sale of Government bonds.



Children selling thrift stamps.

The first of the so-called Liberty Loans was announced on May 14, 1917. They were to bear 3½ per cent interest, payable semiannually, were to mature in thirty years but were made redeemable in fifteen years, were made exempt both as to principal

and interest from all taxes except inheritance taxes, and holders were to have the privilege of converting them into any bonds that might be issued later. When the subscription lists were closed, it was found that over 4,000,000 persons had bought

U. S. veterans sent back from France to aid in floating one of the Liberty Loans.

bonds and that the subscriptions totalled $3,035,226,850, which was 50 per cent more than the amount offered.

On the 1st of the following October a second loan of $3,000,000,000 was offered. The interest rate was fixed at 4 per cent, the bonds were made payable in twenty-five years, but the Government was to have

the privilege of redeeming them in ten years; they were made convertible into any subsequent issues, but they were not exempt from graduated income taxes and excess-profits taxes and war-profits taxes levied by the Federal Government. There were almost 10,000,000 subscriptions for a total of $4,617,532,300, which was 54 per per cent in excess of the amount offered, but the Government accepted one-half of the excess.

A third Liberty Loan of $3,000,000,000 was offered on April 6, 1918. The interest rate was fixed at 4¼ per cent, and the issue had about the same exemptions as in the case of the second issue except that they were not convertible into later issues. The bonds were made payable in September, 1928. The loan was floated in the dark days of the German drive toward Paris, and the public, fully aroused to the issues at stake, again oversubscribed the amount by nearly 40 per cent.

In the fall of 1918, in the midst of Allied victories, a fourth loan became necessary.

The rate was fixed at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, the date of payment was to be October 15, 1938,

Selling bonds in front of the Subtreasury Building in New York during one of the Liberty Loan drives.

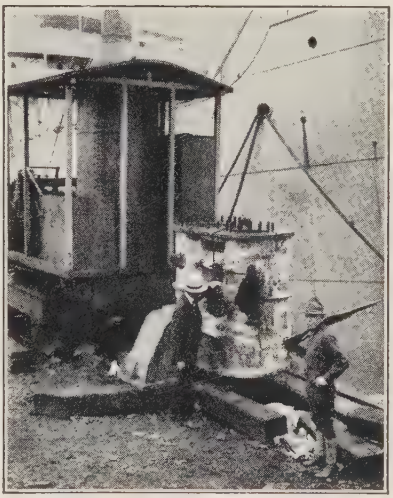
but the Government might redeem them five years earlier, and the offering was for the enormous sum of $6,000,000,000. This

time there were over 21,000,000 subscriptions for a total of $6,989,047,000, the greatest sum ever loaned at one time in the history of mankind.

The Teutonic collapse soon followed, but expenses continued to be so vast that a fifth loan became necessary. It was called the Victory Loan, and the sum asked for was $4,500,000,000. These bonds were made payable in four years, with the privilege of redemption in three, and the interest rate was fixed at 4¾ per cent for partially tax-exempt bonds, which were convertible into 3¾ per cent bonds that were wholly exempt from all except estate and inheritance taxes. By this time patriotic fervor had somewhat abated, yet the subscriptions totalled 12,000,000 for a sum of $5,249,908,300.

The remarkable success of these bond issues was due primarily to the patriotism of the American people, for, though the bonds were considered a safe investment, the interest rates were comparatively low. The value of the bonds steadily declined

in the next few years, and during 1920–21 all the issues were far below par. This decline was largely due to the fact that many people bought bonds and then found it necessary to sell them, even at a sacrifice. But by the spring of 1922 most of the issues were quoted at par, and some even rose above it.



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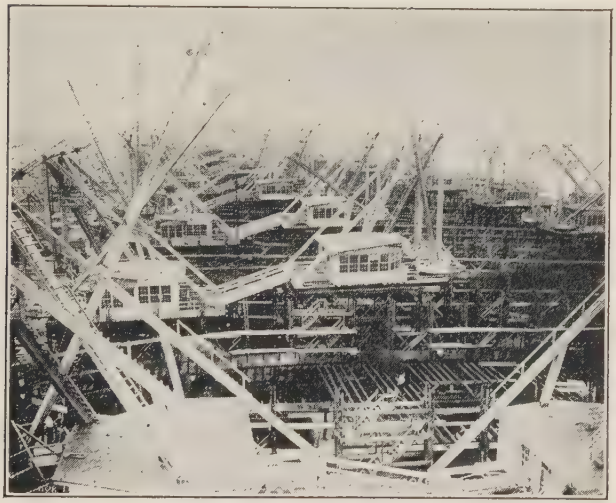
Repairing a damaged German ship for U. S. service.

Owing to the inroads made upon the world's shipping by the U-boats, one of the most pressing needs of the hour was for merchant vessels. Luckily there were in the ports of the United States about 90 German merchant vessels having a total tonnage of over 600,000; these and a few

interned war-ships that had taken refuge in our harbors were promptly seized. In most cases the crews had badly damaged the machinery and no doubt believed that they had put the ships out of commission for many months. But by skilful use of the new method of electric welding American mechanics were able to make the ships serviceable in a surprisingly short time. Many of them were given new names. Thus the Vaterland, the biggest ship afloat, was rechristened the Leviathan, while others were renamed after Steuben, Sigel, Schurz, and other Germans who had played noble parts in American history. These ships afterward carried hundreds of thousands of American troops to France. A few of them were torpedoed, but it must have been melancholy satisfaction to German U-boat crews to sink their own ships. As Austria-Hungary broke off diplomatic relations with us after our declaration of war against Germany, 14 Austrian vessels having a gross tonnage of 67,000 were also taken over.

The building of merchant ships did not proceed so smoothly. The United States Shipping Board, created by Congress in September, 1916, formed an Emergency



Ship-building at Hog Island yards.

Fleet Corporation to carry on the work, and Congress appropriated vast sums for shipping purposes. All American ships that were being built in American yards were commandeered by the board, and a vast programme of new construction was planned. The immediate need for ships

was so great that enthusiasts succeeded in securing the adoption of a plan to build great numbers of wooden ships. Major-General George Goethals, of Panama Canal fame, was appointed general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and the general public expected the work to move forward swiftly.

But new shipyards had to be built, labor troubles impeded progress, and optimistic forecasts issued by Chairman Denman of the Shipping Board were not realized; even the completion of ships taken over by the Government was delayed. General Goethals opposed the building of wooden ships, and became involved in a controversy with Denman over this and other matters, as a result of which President Wilson accepted (August, 1917) the resignation of both. It may be added that General Goethals's views as to the wooden ships were amply justified by events. They proved practically worthless, and the hundreds of millions of dollars expended upon them turned out almost a dead loss. Many

months elapsed before our ship-building programme began to move forward in a satisfactory way.

Although it was important to be building ships, it was decidedly more important to find means of defeating the U-boats. Shortly before we entered the war Vice-Admiral William S. Sims was sent to England to arrange for co-operation in case we should enter the conflict. Sims was a capable, talented officer, who had won a high reputation by his efforts to make our navy more efficient. When still a lieutenant, he became convinced that our marksmanship was poor. At that time our navy had no scientific system of gunnery. While stationed in Chinese waters, Sims became acquainted with a young British officer named Percy

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Admiral William S. Sims.

Scott, whose devices were working a revolution in British gunnery. Sims trained a gun crew on his ship in the British methods, and at the next target practice this crew easily beat all the other crews in the Asiatic fleet. Sims thereupon urged his superiors to adopt the new methods generally, and when his superiors ignored his recommendations, he wrote to President Roosevelt in person, with the result that he was given an opportunity to prove his contentions. Greatly impressed, the President promoted Sims to the rank of commander and made him official inspector of target practice. Under his direction the accuracy of fire was revolutionized, while by eliminating all waste motion, by standardizing movements and synchronizing efforts, he reduced the time required to load and fire a great gun from five minutes to thirty seconds.

In 1910 in a speech at the Guildhall in London Sims had said: "I believe that if the time ever comes when the British Empire is menaced by an external enemy, you may count upon every man, every drop of

blood, every ship, and every dollar of your kindred across the sea." Anglophobes in the United States succeeded in getting Sims reprimanded for this speech, but the time came when he could remind the British people of his prediction. Throughout the war he directed our naval efforts in European waters in such a way as to win the admiration and respect of our Allies.

Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels.

In a book written after the war, Admiral Sims charged Secretary of War Daniels with failing to understand the needs of the situation, and asserted that this failure prolonged the war. Sims believed that as speedily as possible our main naval forces should be concentrated in European waters in order to meet and defeat the submarine campaign.

Into the merits of this controversy it is unnecessary to enter here, but it would seem that the most effective use of the navy was not made, especially in the early months of the war.

However, our vessels took over the work of patrolling a large part of the Atlantic, thus releasing British ships for use in the war zone. Early in May some destroyers were sent to British waters and engaged in antisubmarine work. Later their number was considerably increased, and many cruisers, converted yachts, and a few battleships were sent abroad. Dirigible balloons and hydroplanes were also provided as soon as they could be constructed. Even in the closing months of the war, however, the American vessels engaged in antisubmarine work in European waters amounted, according to Sims, to only 3 per cent of the total Allied effort.

On April 19, 1917, the first American shot of the war was fired by the naval gun crew of the merchant ship Mongolia at a German submarine. There was some

reason to believe that the U-boat was damaged, if not destroyed. Similar duels, generally at long range, took place from time to time; in some cases the merchant ship was sunk, in others it drove off or destroyed its assailant. The submarine captains soon discovered that it was exceedingly dangerous to attack armed American merchantmen with gun-fire, and presently such conflicts became less common. This was partly due to the fact that the Allies wisely adopted the plan of gathering merchant ships into fleets convoyed by war-ships and often by air-ships as well. It was in this work of convoying ships across the Atlantic that the American navy probably performed its greatest service.

The Germans had confidently boasted that their submarines would make the transportation of American troops to France impossible, and much fear existed in this country lest they might make good their boast. But every possible effort was made to protect the troop-ships. They were convoyed by warships all the way

across the Atlantic, and as they drew near the zone where danger was greatest they were surrounded by destroyers and other antisubmarine craft, while dirigible balloons and hydroplanes kept watch from above.

In spite of repeated attacks, many

U. S. transports with convoy nearing France.

months passed before a loaded troop-ship was sunk. On October 17, 1917, the transport Antilles, on the way back from France, was sent to the bottom, but she was practically empty, had been much less carefully guarded than when outward bound, and only seventy persons lost their lives.

Five other transports, the Tuscania,

Covington, President Lincoln, Finland, and Mt. Vernon, were subsequently torpedoed, but the last two managed to reach port. Much the most serious loss of life occurred in the sinking of the Tuscania on February 5, 1918. The vessel was carrying

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Burial of the Tuscania victims on the coast of Scotland.

over 2,000 troops, mostly National Guardsmen from Wisconsin and Michigan, and she was attacked off the north coast of Ireland while under British convoy. The weather was stormy, and much difficulty was experienced in taking the men off the sinking ship. In all over 200 men lost their lives. Most of the bodies were washed

ashore on the western coast of Scotland, and were buried there with fitting ceremonies.

More than 2,000,000 men were carried to Europe, and of this number only 396 were lost by submarine activities. Of those taken over, 48½ per cent were carried in British ships, the rest in American, French, and Italian vessels, and a few in Russian ships under British charter. The United States, however, furnished 82¾ per cent of the convoys.

Of the regular naval vessels, the cruiser San Diego, the destroyer Jacob Jones, and a few minor craft were sunk by the enemy. The San Diego was lost as a result of striking a mine laid by a German U-boat off Long Island. Another destroyer, the Cassin, was hit by a torpedo but managed to reach a port. Considering that we had hundreds of war-vessels on the seas, these losses were exceedingly small, and that they were no larger was due in part to the Germans concentrating their main efforts against merchant ships.

On November 24, 1917, the destroyers

Fanning and Nicholson damaged a U-boat so badly with depth bombs that it came to the surface, and the crew surrendered. But the commander had opened the sea-valves,

Troops on a transport watching a destroyer and patrol-vessel in their efforts to locate a German submarine.

and the submarine herself went to the bottom.

Our naval craft probably destroyed a number of other submarines, but in no case were they able to obtain so conclusive proof as in this. Furthermore, our navy,

with some British assistance, laid a great mine barrier from the Orkney Islands to the Norwegian coast, thereby rendering it dangerous for the U-boats to attempt to reach the high seas. It is considered probable that this mine barrage proved fatal to at least a few submarines.

A few months after our entry into the war a squadron of half a dozen dreadnoughts were sent to the war zone under command of Admiral Hugh Rodman, and were attached to the British Grand Fleet. These vessels had some narrow escapes from being torpedoed by U-boats, but did not participate in any naval battles, for the reason that the German fleet refused to come out and fight.

In the early summer of 1918 three more dreadnoughts, commanded by Rear-Admiral T. S. Rodgers, were sent across. These ships operated from a base on the coast of northeastern Ireland, protecting convoys and keeping guard against enemy above-water raiders.

At a military conference of all the Allied

powers, held in November, 1916, at French general headquarters it was agreed that in the coming campaign offensives should be launched on all fronts. In December the British army in Mesopotamia began a campaign that resulted in March in the capture of Bagdad, the "City of the Arabian Nights." Another British army, pushing northward from the Isthmus of Suez, in March defeated a Turkish force near the ancient city of Gaza, and near the close of the year the flags of Christian nations for the first time since the Crusades once more waved over the holy city of Jerusalem and the Tomb of the Saviour.

But these were minor movements compared with the great "drives" which the Allied plan of campaign contemplated on the eastern and western fronts. During the early weeks of 1917 the British and French armies along the western front were feverishly preparing for their offensive. Aware that a storm was brewing, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who since the previous summer had been the chief directors of

German strategy, determined to make dispositions that would enable them to avoid its full force. Early in February the Germans in the Somme region began a systematic retirement and fell back to a new and very strong position known as the

Land and trees laid waste by the Germans in their retreat.

Siegfried Line. On this retreat they reduced the evacuated country to practically a desert, destroying the towns and villages, blowing up the roads and bridges, poisoning the wells, and even cutting down the fruit-trees.

By this retreat the Germans somewhat disorganized the French and British plans. Nevertheless, Haig and Nivelle, the respec-

tive British and French commanders, persisted in launching their offensives. The British succeeded in taking Vimy Ridge and other strong points, together with many prisoners and guns, and pushed deep into the German zone of defense about Lens and to the eastward of Arras. The French, striking somewhat later in the month in the region of the Aisne River, won considerable ground and captured over 20,000 prisoners, besides nearly 200 guns, but they themselves suffered such frightful losses that their offensive was given up. Later in the year the French regained the important Chemin des Dames Ridge, and the British kept up a tremendous offensive in Flanders that resulted in losses of hundreds of thousands by both sides.

Before the end of spring it was clear that the Allied hope of winning a decision in 1917 would probably be disappointed. The Russian revolution had practically paralyzed Russian military efforts, and, though Kerensky managed to start an offensive in

July, it speedily broke down, with disastrous results, as already described.

The failure of the spring offensive in the west to produce decisive results caused a pall of gloom to settle over France, and there was much pessimism even in Great Britain. It was apparent to military men that many months must pass before the United States could put any large force on the firing-line, but for the sake of the effect upon Allied morale General Joffre and other Allied leaders urged that some troops should be sent to France as speedily as possible. Our Government agreed that it should be done.

The officer chosen to command our overseas forces was General John J. Pershing, the officer who led the punitive expedition into Mexico after Villa. General Pershing was born in Linn County, Missouri, in 1860, and graduated from West Point in 1886. He saw active service against the Apaches in the Southwest, and later fought in the Santiago campaign and in the Philippines. As a military observer he

accompanied Kuroki's army in the Russo-Japanese War, and thus had an opportunity to witness modern military operations on a large scale. His services against the wild Mohammedan Moros of the Philippines was of so high a character that President Roosevelt, a keen judge of military qualities, promoted him from captain to brigadier-general over the heads of more than 800 other officers.

General John J. Pershing.

Late in May General Pershing sailed with his staff from New York on board the Baltic. They landed in Liverpool on June 8, and were greeted by high military and civil dignitaries. From Liverpool they proceeded by special train to London, where Pershing met Premier Lloyd George, King George, Secretary of State for War Derby, and many other British dignitaries.

After conferences with the British military authorities, General Pershing crossed to France. When he stepped ashore at Boulogne, he was greeted by General Dumas, who said: "I salute the United States of America, which has now become united to the United States of Europe." His reception in Paris was the most tumultuous given any one since the beginning of the war. Every wall, window, and housetop was occupied by cheering Frenchmen. On June 14 he was taken to the tomb of Napoleon in the Hôtel des Invalides, was admitted to the crypt, and was permitted to hold the sword of the Great Corsican, this being the first time the relic had been touched since the days of Louis Philippe. Next morning Marshal Joffre, the hero of the Marne, and General Pershing appeared on the balcony of the Military Club before an immense crowd that packed the Place de l'Opéra. "Vive Joffre, who saved us from defeat! Vive Pershing, who brings us victory!" cried an excited French girl in the street, and the crowd, taking it as a

good omen, burst into cheers that lasted long after the generals had withdrawn from view.

General Pershing also visited President Poincaré, the French Senate, and the French Chamber of Deputies, but the ceremonies that evoked the most memories attended his visit to the tomb of Lafayette. With him he took a great wreath of American beauty roses with which to honor the memory of the noble-hearted Frenchman who more than a century before had crossed stormy seas to risk his life in behalf of American independence. The services were simple but immensely impressive. General Pershing and a few officers of his staff were received by the Marquis and the Count de Chambrun, descendants of America's beloved benefactor. The Marquis spoke a brief welcome, to which General Pershing responded in a sentence which was caught up eagerly in both France and America because it brought up the immortal past and the hope of the future. It was: "Lafayette, we are here."

The first contingent of the First Division of American troops steamed into the harbor of St. Nazaire in the early morning of June 26, and the last units reached port on July 2. There had been submarine alarms on

U. S. troops landing in France.

the way over, but not a ship nor a man had been lost. Everywhere they went the American soldiers were greeted with indescribable enthusiasm. On July 4 a battalion marched through the streets of Paris, and endless cheering greeted the men from overseas as they passed through the crowded streets.

It had been decided that the American front should be in Lorraine. The town of Chaumont became American headquarters, and it was early settled that our first of-

A U. S. Locomotive Assembling Yard in France.

fensive should be against the St. Mihiel salient.

But an immense amount of work remained to be done before such an offensive could be undertaken. Hundreds of thousands more men must be brought over. Transportation routes had to be arranged

for or built. Supplies and munitions must be obtained. Even many of the men in the division that had landed were still raw, and they and their officers must undergo months of training.

This training was necessary, but it proved tiresome to the Americans and disappointing to the French and British, who had been taught to expect impossible things from the Americans. In time pessimists in Allied countries began to doubt whether the Americans ever would fight, while German propagandists sought to increase this belief by declaring that the Americans were only "bluffing," and would never risk their skins in actual warfare.

Late in October, however, the First Division moved up to a quiet sector in Lorraine not far from Nancy and, under French tutelage, took over a short sector. The first American shot of the war on land was fired by a gun of Battery C of the Sixth Artillery on the night of October 22. No attempt was made to aim the gun, the shell being simply discharged "in the gen-

eral direction of Berlin." On the second day the Americans took their first prisoner, a German soldier who had lost his way. A few nights later a German raiding-party penetrated into the front trenches and killed three Americans, wounded eleven others, and took a few prisoners. The first Americans killed were Corporal James B. Gresham, of Evansville, Indiana, and Privates Thomas F. Enright, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Merle D. Hay, of Glidden, Iowa.

From that time forward occasional clashes occurred, and more and more troops were sent to the trenches for their final training, but it was not until the following June that Americans in large numbers participated in a real battle.

The task of mobilizing America's resources was one of the most stupendous that ever faced a nation. It was all the greater because little of a practical nature had been done before our entry into the conflict. Not only did we lack machine-guns, motor-trucks, airplanes, field-artil-

lery, and other requisites for modern war, but the War Department had made no plans as to what types of machine-guns, motor-trucks, airplanes, and field-artillery should be used, and many precious months were spent in planning and experimenting before real construction of some of these necessities could begin. Nearly everything had to be improvised and at tremendous cost, in order to get our troops to the front in time to be of service.

Although there was some holding back by pacifists and pro-Germans, the people generally displayed remarkable willingness to lend their aid. They subscribed to war loans in sums hitherto undreamed of and also gave hundreds of millions of dollars to the Red Cross, the Knights of Columbus, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, and other agencies doing volunteer war work. Thousands of business men of broad experience dropped their own individual affairs and gave their services to the country free of charge or for a nominal sum.

Congress co-operated with the Executive

and passed many sweeping measures, including the Selective Draft Act, a Food and Fuel Act, a War Risk Insurance Act, a Daylight-Saving law, an Espionage Act, and various laws for raising revenue.

However, for reasons upon which men differ, America's preparations in many matters moved forward slowly and unsatisfactorily. The blame for this state of affairs was placed by critics in large measure upon the shoulders of Secretary of War Baker and bureaucrats in his department, and also upon the President himself. Near the end of 1917 a majority of a Senate investigating committee reported they had found numerous instances of bad management by the War Department. The leadership in the investigation was taken by Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, a member of President Wilson's own party. In a speech delivered in New York City Chamberlain declared that our military establishment had "almost stopped functioning. Why? Because of inefficiency in every bureau and every department of the

Government of the United States." This speech drew from President Wilson a bitter statement in which he defended Baker as a capable executive and denounced Chamberlain's words as "an astonishing and un-

Secretary of War Baker with General Pershing on a tour of inspection in France.

justifiable distortion of the truth." Secretary Baker also defended his department in glowing terms.

In a later speech before the Senate (January 4, 1918), Senator Chamberlain admitted that much had been done, but he persisted in charging that the army was almost without artillery, was inadequately

supplied with rifles and many other necessities, that shortage of clothing and hospital facilities had caused unnecessary deaths in the cantonments, and that our whole war effort was lagging. Some days later Senator Hitchcock, like Chamberlain a Democrat, severely criticised the administration for short-sightedness and failure to prepare for war activities. His picture of the existing situation was a gloomy one, and he insisted that in many matters our preparations were far behind schedule.

To remedy the bad situation that he believed existed, Senator Chamberlain introduced bills providing for the creation of a new department of munitions and to establish a war cabinet to direct the war. The administration succeeded in defeating these measures, but the public demand that something should be done was so insistent that the President secured the introduction and passage of the Overman Bill providing for a reorganization of war activities. He also brought General Goethals back into responsible service.

One of the most serious situations had to do with the building of airplanes. In July, 1917, the Government had formed a plan to construct 22,000 planes, and it was confidently predicted that by the opening of the campaign of 1918 thousands of American planes would be at the front. Congress voted $640,000,000 for the air service and later increased this sum. But precious months were spent in experiment, and the whole situation became badly muddled. A vast amount of effort was devoted to inventing and building a "Liberty Motor," and in September, 1917, Secretary Baker announced that the new engine "had passed the final test" and that it "invites comparison with the best the European war has produced." In reality, the motor proved to be merely in the experiment stage, and many months elapsed before its defects were corrected. A great popular outcry over the aircraft situation resulted in two investigations being made, which brought to light many discouraging facts.

Ultimately the aerial service was reor-

An American naval aviation station.

ganized. Near the end of the war production of the Liberty Motor proceeded rapidly, and it proved of some value, especially for training and bombing planes. However, production of aircraft in this country was so much delayed by one cause or another that most of the aircraft used in the war by American flyers had to be purchased from the French.

Luckily the training of aviators proceeded much more satisfactorily. With the aid of foreign instructors, 8,000 men were graduated from elementary flying courses. Over 5,000 pilots and observers were sent overseas, and a large number of these saw more or less active service.

In the making of many other articles needed in the war there were similar discouraging delays. The artillery, tanks, shells, machine-guns, and poison-gas actually used by our soldiers in battle were obtained mostly or wholly from the French and British, though production of most of these articles had begun to proceed rapidly shortly before the war closed.

In the matter of the production of food there is a more comforting story to tell. From the outset it was clear that we could render much aid by furnishing larger supplies of meat, grain, and other such articles to the Allies. The cry of "Food will win the war!" was raised. Like most other slogans of the period this cry was not strictly true, but it was beyond dispute that food would help to win the war, and that without it the war would be lost. The need was all the greater because the world's stock of foodstuffs was very low, and though there existed large surpluses in remote countries like Australia, ships could not be spared to carry much of it to Europe.

The food campaign took two forms: increased production and conservation of the supply. Large sums were appropriated to aid both these objects. The campaign for increased production was carried on with energy and resourcefulness. Farmers were encouraged to produce more grain and vegetables, and to raise more hogs and cattle, every one was urged to cultivate a

"war garden," the importance of good seed was emphasized, canning clubs were organized, and to stimulate the growing of wheat a minimum price of $2.20 a bushel for No. 1

Children at work in a war garden.

Northern spring wheat was established at the principal interior markets, with a system of differentials between grades and zones.

This last was done under authority of the Food and Fuel Control Act of August 10, 1917, which gave the Government broad powers over the sale and distribution of

foods and fuels. To the post of Federal Food Administrator the President appointed Herbert C. Hoover, who as head of relief for Belgium had already won international fame. Mr. Hoover performed his new duties with great ability, and it is not too much to say that he was one of the great, outstanding men of the war

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Herbert C. Hoover.

The railway situation in the United States had long been unsatisfactory, and traffic congestion became so bad late in 1917 that the Government assumed control of the roads under authority of an act passed in August, 1916. To manage the roads, President Wilson appointed his son-in-law, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo. Legislation was passed to guarantee the rights of stockholders. The experiment proved less successful than

had been hoped for. The costs of operation rose to unheard-of heights, and though freight and traffic rates were greatly increased, vast deficits were incurred which had to be made good by the Government out of the pockets of the taxpayers.

The seizure of the railroads was partly due to an alarming shortage in the coal supply. The winter of 1917–18 was one of the coldest ever experienced, and in January, 1918, Fuel Administrator Garfield deemed it necessary to order a partial cessation of industry in the region east of the Mississippi, in order to conserve fuel. Exceptions were made for certain industries engaged in making munitions of war. The order caused great dissatisfaction and occasioned much loss, but it was perhaps necessary under the circumstances.

Although Austria-Hungary broke off diplomatic relations with the United States soon after our declaration of war with Germany, it was not until the following December that Congress declared war against the Dual Monarchy. That we

finally did so was largely due to the fact that in the fall of 1917 the Central Powers won a great victory over Italy, and it was believed that a formal declaration against Austria-Hungary would help to restore Italian morale. Diplomatic relations had already been broken off with Turkey, but we were never formally at war with that power. Diplomatic relations with Bulgaria were continued throughout the conflict.

As a measure of precaution, Congress passed acts requiring all German and Austro-Hungarian subjects resident in the United States to register as enemy aliens and to carry certificates of identification. The registration showed that there were 500,000 German and over 3,000,000 Austro-Hungarian "enemy aliens" in the United States. Such persons were forbidden to live in or visit certain districts, or to go near military or naval establishments without special permits.

In addition to these enemy aliens, there were also some Bulgarians and Turks in the United States, besides millions of natu-

ralized citizens who had emigrated from the Central Powers, and millions more of their descendants. The Teutonic War Lords had boasted that the United States dare not enter the war because if we did so we would bring on a civil war at home.

Some uneasiness existed on this score, but in large measure it proved unfounded. There were, of course, many hostile utterances, and some damage was done in the form of blowing up munitions factories and causing "accidents" of one kind or another. But the federal secret service did its work well and foiled many dangerous plots of which the general public knew nothing. In fact, there were fewer outrages of this sort than before we entered the war. Altogether it was necessary to arrest only 6,000 persons under personal warrants, and many of these were arrested as a measure of precaution rather than because of actual proof that they were engaged in dangerous enterprises. Many were released on parole, others were confined in internment camps. Among those

thus imprisoned there were, of course, many who were extremely dangerous to our peace and welfare.

Doubtless, there were many thousands more alien enemies and even citizens of the United States who secretly hoped the United States would meet disaster, but when the final pinch came it is to the everlasting credit of our citizens of German and Austro-Hungarian origin that the great majority, whatever their sympathies may have been before we entered the war, whole-heartedly gave the United States their loyal support. Hundreds of thousands of them enlisted in our armies, and thousands shed their blood for the Republic to "make the world safe for democracy."

Certain extreme pacifists, some of the more radical Socialists, and the Industrial Workers of the World bitterly opposed the war. A considerable number were arrested and tried for disloyal acts or words. A few, including Eugene V. Debs, several times a candidate for the Presidency on the Socialist ticket, and Victor Berger, a

former Congressman from Milwaukee, were convicted and were sentenced to prison. Debs served part of his term, but President Harding finally released him. Berger was twice re-elected to Congress while out on bail but was not permitted to take his seat.

Many of the I. W. W.'s were guilty of sabotage in various forms. For example, they set fire to forests, grain-elevators, and crops, put bombs in munitions factories, injured machinery, and incited strikes, especially among ship-builders. Many of them were undoubtedly in German pay. Some were arrested, and a few, including their most notorious leader, William D. Haywood, were convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. While his case was pending before a higher court, however, Haywood escaped to Russia. A considerable number of alien radicals were placed in internment camps. After the armistice was signed some scores of foreign I. W. W.'s and other radicals were deported from the country.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST GERMAN BID FOR VICTORY

DURING the summer and fall of 1917 conditions in Russia went from bad to worse. Early in September the Germans captured Riga, with vast booty in war munitions, having met almost no resistance from the demoralized Russian army. In November the Bolshevists executed a sudden revolution and established a new Government, headed by Nicholas Lenine and Leon Trotsky. In December the Bolshevists concluded an armistice with the Central Powers. In the following February hostilities were renewed, and the Germans began a new invasion of Russia, meeting with practically no opposition and capturing thousands of guns and other booty. Early in March the Russians were forced to sign the humiliating treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The withdrawal of Russia also forced Rumania to accept peace on

harsh terms. The Central Powers were now dominant in eastern Europe and were able to turn practically all their forces against France, Great Britain, and Italy.

Allied planes flying over the Alps.

The Italians had already felt the weight of the mailed fist. During the spring and summer of 1917 they had won some successes over the Austrians but had achieved nothing decisive. In the autumn the Central Powers secretly prepared a counterstroke. Hundreds of thousands of Aus-

trians and several divisions of Germans were transferred from the eastern front to the Italian front, and on October 24 the Teutons launched a sudden offensive in the Plezzo-Tolmino sector. Veteran German shock troops speedily broke through the Italian lines. The success was followed up with great energy, and the whole Italian army on the Isonzo front became involved in one of the worst disasters of the war. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners and nearly 3,000 guns were taken. Venice and the whole Lombard plain were in grave danger. It seemed as if Italy might be put out of the war. But, thanks to Lloyd George, the Allies for once acted with speed and energy, and soon French and British troops were on their way to aid the sorely pressed Italians. A new line was established at the Piave River, and after weeks of bitter fighting this line was held and attacks from the north were repulsed.

It was the hope of the Central Powers that, influenced by Russian and Italian events, other enemies would consent to

enter peace negotiations. With this object in view they conducted a vigorous peace offensive during the winter of 1917–18. For weeks the long-range discussions continued, but the belligerents were still much too far apart in their terms to reach any agreement. In their pronouncements on the subject Allied statesmen were in substantial accord, and their demands included indemnification for Belgium and other invaded countries, the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and the evacuation by the Teutons of all occupied territory. On January 8, 1918, Wilson stated to the Senate fourteen points or conditions that in his view were necessary for the establishment of peace, and these conditions later assumed special importance in connection with the armistice.

But even while they were talking peace the Teutons were loudly boasting that in the spring they would launch on the western front a stupendous offensive that would bring them overwhelming victory. Many people were unable to believe that the

War Lords would thus openly advertise their purpose and assumed that this boasting was meant for purposes of intimidation, for effect at home, or to cloak some design against Italy or in the Balkans.

But the Teutonic leaders meant what they said. Their submarine campaign had proved immensely destructive but not decisive, and they realized that they must win the war, if at all, before America could take the field. As yet our forces in France were negligible, but the War Lords were aware that we were making vast preparations, and that the time was not far distant when we would begin to play a real part. Like a tiring pugilist in the prize-ring they realized that the time was at hand when they must score a knock-out or admit defeat. Therefore, they prepared to make a final, stupendous effort to achieve victory.

Their preparations were made with even more than the usual Teutonic thoroughness. Only a thin screen of second-rate troops was left on the Eastern border. The rest, with most of the artillery, were sent to

Belgium and France. The German troops on the Italian front were also withdrawn and sent to the western front. German industries were combed of every man that could be spared, and the War Lords "robbed the cradle and the grave" in order to obtain the human material with which to make the final supreme effort. Thanks to these preparations, they were able to assemble on the western front forces about 20 per cent superior in fighting men to those of the Allies.

Every preparation that Teutonic ingenuity could suggest was made. The best soldiers were placed in special units and were given training as shock troops. Vast concentrations of artillery were made in front of the sector selected for the attack. Hand grenades, minenwerfer, and light guns that could be pushed forward by hand were supplied in profusion. The plans, which were copied after those that had succeeded before Riga and against the Italians, were carefully rehearsed. The Kaiser himself assumed nominal command in person, and

after the battle had begun, he announced that the supreme hour had come. It was to be the "Kaiser's Battle," the most stupendous conflict in world annals.

The place selected for the attack was in the region of Cambrai and St. Quentin along a front of 50 miles. About a hundred of the best divisions in the German army, or from 800,000 to 1,000,000 fighting men, were quietly concentrated behind the German lines in this sector. At five o'clock on the morning of March 21 thousands of German guns suddenly opened a bombardment that surpassed any the war had yet produced. Not only was the British zone of defense subjected to a hail of projectiles but roads, villages, and concentration points more than twenty miles in the rear were searched out by long-range guns of large caliber. A great proportion of the shells were filled with poison-gas, and the British trenches and battery positions were drenched with the noxious vapors.

After four hours of this inferno the bar-

rage lifted, and, like a gigantic battering-ram, the German host moved forward to the assault. As one division became exhausted another moved forward to take its place. Losses were disregarded, for the German leaders hoped to achieve a complete break through and involve the Allied army in a cataclysmic disaster that would make no sacrifices seem too great for the reward won.

The British were expecting an attack, but they were not prepared to withstand the blow that actually fell upon them. Favored by a mist that helped to conceal their movements, the assailants broke through the outpost line and pushed on into the main British battle zone. The British fought with the dogged courage of their race, but they were greatly outnumbered and could not halt the German effort. Their lines were penetrated in many places, tens of thousands were killed or captured, and the remnants were forced backward, fighting as they retired. The Fifth British Army, against which the main

blow fell, was practically cut to pieces. Day after day the Germans pushed forward, taking more prisoners and capturing new booty in guns and war material. For a time a gap was opened, but a scratch force, which included a few American engineers, was hastily organized by Brigadier-General Carey, the gap was closed, and supreme disaster was avoided. In a little more than a week the Germans retook practically all the ground they had lost in the battle of the Somme and in the "strategic retreat" of 1917; they captured 90,000 prisoners, and they were within a few miles of the vitally important town of Amiens. But in front of Arras and along Vimy Ridge, General Byng's Third Army had held firm and thus contained the German flood on the north, while on the south French reserves were rushed up in motor lorries, and with machine-guns and their artillery inflicted terrific losses on the Germans, who had advanced beyond the protecting fire of their own guns.

The Germans had neglected nothing to

make this "Kaiser's Battle" spectacular and terrible. In the hope of impressing the French with the idea of German invincibility they began with superguns to

Results of aeroplane-directed shell fire in a French town.

bombard Paris, firing from the almost incredible distance of seventy-four miles. Fortunately the shells from these long-range guns had a comparatively small bursting charge, and though they killed over 200 civilians, they did no great amount of damage. Incessant air-raids were also

made on the city; great numbers of bombs were dropped, and at times the airplanes descended so low as to rake the boulevards with machine-guns. Terrified by the shells and bombs and by the German offensive, about a million people left the capital and took refuge in provinces more remote from the enemy.

Great as was the Allied disaster, it had some good results. One of these was that the Allies at last realized that in order to win the war they must have unity of command. Defeat after defeat had resulted from the lack of an efficient directing authority. The Italian disaster of the preceding year had led to the creation of a Supreme War Council at Paris. But councils have rarely been notably successful in commanding armies. What was needed was one man of genius to co-ordinate Allied efforts and make speedy decisions in critical times.

On March 26, while the Great German drive was still unchecked, high French and British authorities met and, casting aside

mutual jealousies, appointed General Ferdinand Foch commander-in-chief of their forces. Subsequently he was made generalissimo of all the Allied armies on every front. It was the best choice that could have been made. Foch combined in a remarkable way the qualities of a scholar with those of a man of action. Before the war, as a military instructor and writer, he had constantly emphasized the idea that battles are won or lost in the minds of those who fight them, and that no battle is lost until it is believed to be so. At the battle of the Marne he had commanded the French Ninth Army which parried the German effort to break the Allied centre, and on the decisive day, though hard pressed, he attacked, pushed a division through a gap in the German line,

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Marshal Foch.

and helped to win the victory that saved France and the world from Teutonic domination. Later in the year he co-ordinated the efforts of the British and French forces that prevented the Germans from capturing the Channel ports. In General Pétain he had an admirable commander for the French forces, while Generals Haig and Pershing also co-operated in admirable fashion. The French and British civil governments also gave him every possible support. To Premier Clémenceau, the "Tiger," fell the task of managing civil affairs and preserving French morale, "tasks which, despite his seventy-eight years, he performed like a hero out of Plutarch." Lloyd George, with his optimistic belief that the right would triumph, his intelligence, and his

General Sir Douglas Haig.

tremendous energy, was another great bulwark of Allied strength.

America also did all that was possible at the moment. On March 28 General Pershing went to Foch's headquarters and said to him: "I come to say to you that the American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle. I ask it of you in my name and in that of the American people. There is at this moment no other question than that of fighting. Infantry, artillery, aviation—all that we have are yours to dispose of as you will. Others are coming which are as numerous as will be necessary. I have come to say to you that the American people would be proud to be engaged in the greatest battle of history."

As yet, however, Pershing had little to offer. There were at that time less than 370,000 American troops in France, and of that number about half were in non-combatant services. Only four divisions, with a total strength of about 108,000, had had trench experience, and some military ex-

perts doubted whether even these were ready to be thrown into a real battle. Only one division, in fact, the First, was sent to the active front, being placed near the apex of the German salient in the region of Montdidier.

Foch was a thorough believer in the theory that "to make war is to attack." As the lines were becoming stabilized once more he made preparations to deliver a counterblow. But on April 9, before he was ready for this stroke, the Germans launched a new offensive in Flanders in the region of La Bassée Canal and Armentières. They speedily broke through at a point that was held by a Portuguese division and drove another great wedge into the Allied line, capturing many prisoners, guns, and other booty. In three days the situation had become desperate for the British, and General Haig issued an appeal to his men to stand fast. The Germans were, he said, attempting "to separate us from the French, to take the Channel ports, and to destroy the British army. . . . Victory

will belong to the side which holds out the longest. . . . Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

Extending their drive farther northward, the Germans retook Messines Ridge and all the ground gained by the British in their costly Flanders offensive of 1917. They captured Kemmel Hill and other strong points. Ypres, which to the British represented what Verdun had stood for in 1916 to the French, was in imminent danger. But the British troops fought with their proverbial courage, strong French reinforcements arrived in the nick of time, and the German assaults were repulsed with tremendous slaughter. Gradually their attack died down, and their offensive in this sector came to an end.

In a few weeks the Germans had won two

great tactical victories. They had captured more than a hundred thousand prisoners, many hundreds of guns, and vast stores of war materials. They had driven two great salients deep into the Allied line and had brought the Allied cause to the brink of disaster. But by a narrow margin they had failed in their supreme purpose of winning a decision before America could enter the fray.

One result of the German offensive was that it convinced all the Allied peoples of the impossibility of concluding peace by negotiation. This lesson was badly needed, particularly in America, where many persons, including some high in authority, had entertained the delusion that the Germans would be so impressed by our preparations that they would make peace without our being compelled actually to fight. This delusion was thoroughly dispelled by Germany's rude blows. With all the people of Germany deliriously applauding Hindenburg and Ludendorff's victories, it was clear even to the most optimistic dreamers that

"nothing could unsaddle the men who rode her war-horses except the thrust of steel." Words availed nothing. Instead of an easy triumph, the vital question was: Could our hard-pressed Allies hold back the German legions until America was ready to do her part?

In almost every respect America was behind her schedule. There were not in France, in the words of Lloyd George, the number of divisions which the Allies "had confidently expected would be there." Instead of the clouds of airplanes which over-optimistic press agents of the War Department had predicted would be darkening the sky over the German lines by April 1, not a single American fighting plane had yet been sent to Europe. For artillery, shells, tanks, and machine-guns we must for months continue to be almost wholly dependent upon the Allies. But, fortunately, in the training-camps at home there were a million and a half men, and men, above all, were badly needed by the Allies. Soon after our entrance into the war Allied

leaders had begun urging that the Americans should be incorporated with their forces, and had emphasized in support of this plan that to organize a separate army

French troops entertaining U. S. troops serving with them.

would require a much longer time than merely to form regiments or battalions and put these in British or French brigades. But our military authorities had refused to adopt this view and insisted upon creating a separate army. But the German offensive made it clear that we must modify our plan. As parts of a new military machine our units might be too late. As cogs in an old machine they might be able to be of

service. We consented, therefore, to have our organizations serve for a time with the French and British armies, but prepara-

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Colonel Roosevelt, Mayor Mitchel, and ex-Supreme-Court Justice Hughes reviewing the 77th Division.

tions were continued for building a separate American army.

Thereupon there began the greatest long-distance movement of troops overseas in the history of warfare. The United States did not have sufficient ships with which to transport so many men, but Great Britain threw her commerce to the winds, drew in her merchant vessels from distant seas,

and sent an endless stream of ships across the Atlantic. American vessels were able, as time passed, to carry an increasing share, while some aid was given by French and Italian vessels and by Russian vessels under British control. In April 120,072 men embarked for Europe; in May 247,714; in June 280,434; in July 311,359; in August 286,375; in September 259,670; in October 184,063; in November 12,124.

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American Engineers parading in London.

At the outset these men could play only a small part in holding back the foe, but the moral influence of their coming proved of immense value. They landed both in

France and Great Britain, and the people of these countries soon had concrete evidence of this American "invasion," for American uniforms were everywhere.

In the minds of our Allies there remained, however, a serious question. It was: Will these Americans really fight? As to that, the Americans themselves, proud of their past history, had no doubts. But the French and British remembered that thus far only their own soldiers—including colonials—had proved themselves capable of meeting the Germans on equal terms. On quiet sectors the Americans had acquitted themselves creditably, but it was not until late in May and early in June that there were conclusive tests.

On May 28, in a local counter-offensive, the First Division, under Major-General Robert L. Bullard, recaptured the town of Cantigny and inflicted considerable losses upon the enemy. The task was performed in workmanlike fashion, but as yet no American division had attempted the supreme task of meeting a German drive.

The First Division's exploit at Cantigny was almost completely overshadowed by a new German offensive that had been launched on the day before. The attack was made on a thirty-mile front between Rheims and Soissons. The Allies were completely surprised and at first were able to offer no effective resistance. The Germans retook the Chemin des Dames, Soissons, Fère-en-Tardenois, and many smaller places. They took hundreds of guns and many thousands of prisoners. And once more their hosts came flooding down into the valley of the Marne, from which they had been driven almost four years before.

This new offensive greatly depleted Foch's reserves, and both he and Pershing believed that the time had at last come for really testing the mettle of the men from America. Two of our divisions, the Second, under Major-General Omar Bundy, and the Third, under Major-General Joseph Dickman, were rushed by trains and motor-trucks to the region of Château-Thierry on the Marne, the point where the Ger-

U. S. troops resting on the road on their way to the front.

mans were nearest Paris. One of the brigades of the Second consisted of well-drilled, straight-shooting Marines under Brigadier-General James G. Harbord.

The sight of so many thousands of Americans hastening to the front to meet the enemy greatly encouraged the French soldiers and the crowds of fleeing refugees. The news that the "Sammies" were at last "going in" in large numbers spread rapidly. Of the march on the last day of May an American war correspondent wrote:

"The confusion at the rear was at its height, and the time was night after the Germans had made further gains. Rumors grow in the night and hasten the steps of those in retreat. The marching columns in the darkness, intensified by the heavy shade of the trees, must make their way past ambulances and motor-trucks that shot by in ruthless possession of the road, and among refugees and their carts and batteries and broken elements of troops and peripatetic cavalry. Out of the darkness, as our troops

were identified, came cries of '*Les Américains!*' in the husky voices of French drivers, the weary voices of men who had fought their hearts out without food or sleep, the faint voices of the wounded and

Americans driving the Germans out of a French farmyard.
From a drawing by F. C. Yohn.

the tremolo of old women and little children among the refugees. '*Les Américains!*' meant more that night than they ever had in France."

Some of the American machine-gunners were sent at once to the front line, but for a time most of the American troops were

kept in position to support the French troops ahead. The machine-gunners played an important part in preventing the Germans from forcing their way over the Marne at Château-Thierry. On the night of June 3 the Second Division began tak-

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U. S. Marines parading in Paris, July 4, 1918.

ing over a twelve-mile front on both sides of the Paris road. Not content with merely holding their positions, the Marines, aided by some regular troops, recaptured the village of Bouresques and Belleau Wood, waging for several days a bitter battle for the last. In the wood they captured over 700 prisoners, and by their fighting quali-

ties so impressed the French that the name of the wood was changed to "*Le Bois des Marines.*" On July 1 the 3d Brigade of the Second Division, under Brigadier-General Edward M. Lewis, retook the village of Vaux in a most workmanlike manner, capturing 500 Germans and considerable war material.

In other sectors more and more Americans were going into the trenches. On June 20 at Cantigny the First Division made another successful advance, while farther north American soldiers brigaded with the British army aided Australians to win a considerable success at Hamel.

After Cantigny and Château-Thierry all doubts were dispelled as to whether Americans could fight. In Paris and London startling stories were told of American courage, marksmanship, and fury in action. French and British hopes soared skyward. The Germans, too, had made the disquieting discovery that the men they had affected to despise were dangerous antagonists.

The statement sometimes made that the Americans at Château-Thierry saved Paris is, however, much too sweeping. They stood across the Paris road and *helped* to save Paris, but after the Americans went into line the Germans made no really powerful effort to advance farther in this region. The conflicts around Château-Thierry were, in fact, little more than skirmishes. What really brought the drive to an end was that farther northward the French, by using a new "yielding defense," defeated all German attempts to widen the salient. The fighting in these battles was extremely bloody, and, especially in the region of Compiègne, the French beat back the German assaults with tremendous slaughter. In most histories of the war not enough emphasis is placed upon these French achievements.

Up to this time American financial aid and moral support had been more important than our participation in the fighting. But 300,000 Americans were landing in France a month, and the time was close

at hand when we could strike really weighty blows. Thanks to these reinforcements, the "rifle strength" of the Allies by July 1 exceeded that of the Teutons by about 150,000. The German army, depleted by hard fighting, was becoming rapidly weaker, for the Germans had exhausted their last reserves of men.

Furthermore, it was becoming clearer every day that the German hope of winning the war by their submarines would not be realized. Depth bombs, the convoy system, and other antisubmarine measures were constantly diminishing the toll levied by the German undersea craft, while the shipyards of Great Britain and America were turning out an increasing number of merchant ships.

On the Italian front also events occurred that were discouraging to the Teutons and encouraging to their enemies. In the middle of June the Austro-Hungarians launched their long-expected offensive, but the Italians, with some French and British assistance, hurled back their assailants

with immense losses. The failure of this offensive lifted a great burden from the shoulders of Foch, for it was now certain that he would not have to send aid to Italy and could safely employ all his troops on the western front against Ludendorff.

As for the Germans, they must either continue to attack or else retire, for to stand still in the salients they had driven into the Allied line would be to court disaster. But retreat would be a confession that their great offensive had failed. Therefore, for political reasons, if no other, they resolved on a new effort. The sector chosen by them was the Rheims salient, and they planned to attack from Château-Thierry on the west almost to the Argonne Forest on the east. Their immediate objectives were Rheims, the so-called "Mountain of Rheims," Epernay, and Châlons, but success would probably have been followed by one final grand drive on a great front against Paris.

The Germans made their preparations with their usual care, but this time they failed to mislead the Allied leaders. To

meet the drive Foch concentrated great numbers of French and a few Italians, while about 300,000 Americans were on the Marne front or in immediate support.

Frequent Allied raids were made to obtain information, while aloft great numbers of planes were kept busy watching the German movements. On July 14 while protecting reconnoissance planes, Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, youngest son of the ex-President, was killed near the village of Chambray north of the Marne, and fell within the German lines. The reconnoissance planes, however, returned with important intelligence. Lieutenant Roosevelt had shot down his first German plane only a few days before. Though himself denied the privilege of fighting, Colonel Roosevelt had seen all of his four sons go to the war. Two of them, Theodore, Jr., and Archibald, were severely wounded, while Kermit, the companion of his father in Africa and South America, fought both in Mesopotamia and France, but came through the war untouched. Though feel-

ing the loss keenly, Colonel Roosevelt outwardly kept up a brave composure. In an article called "The Great Adventure" he paid eloquent tribute to his eagle son and the other gallant Americans who had given their lives for freedom and civilization.

"In America to-day," he wrote, "all our people are summoned to service and sacrifice. Pride is the portion of those who know bitter sorrow or the foreboding of bitter sorrow. But all of us who give service and stand ready for sacrifice are the torch-bearers. We run with the torches until we fall, content if we can then pass them to the hands of other runners. The torches whose flame is brightest are borne by the gallant men at the front and by the gallant women whose husbands and lovers, whose sons and brothers are at the front. These men are high of soul as they face their fate on the shell-shattered earth or in the skies above or in the waters beneath; and no less high of soul are the women with torn hearts and shining eyes; the girls whose boy lovers have been struck down

in their golden morning, and the mothers and wives to whom word has been brought that henceforth they must walk in the shadow.

"These are the torch-bearers; these are they who have dared the great adventure."

The same evening that Lieutenant Roosevelt was killed a French lieutenant named Balestier and four comrades raided the German lines and brought back prisoners from whom it was learned that the drive would start next morning. The German artillery preparation was to begin shortly after midnight, and at a quarter past four in the morning the infantry were to "go over the top" behind a creeping barrage. This information was of inestimable value, and for his exploit Lieutenant Balestier was awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

More than an hour before the time set for the Germans to begin their artillery preparation the Allied guns suddenly opened a furious bombardment, decimating the waiting German infantry, silencing many of their guns, and otherwise playing

havoc with German plans. Nevertheless, the Germans persisted in their attack, and presently their artillery began firing. The combined bombardment was so violent that it was plainly heard at Paris.

One of the big guns used in France.

At the appointed hour the German infantry moved forward. But they were badly cut up by the Allied fire, and in most places were able to gain but little ground. To the eastward of Rheims the Allied troops, which included the famous Rainbow Division and also an American negro

regiment, fell back from their feebly manned front lines, but threw back the assaulting waves when the assailants reached the battle zone. Southeast of Rheims French and Italian troops were compelled to cede some ground but gave up nothing vital. Farther south half a dozen German divisions succeeded in forcing their way over the Marne. In front of the French troops they retained their foothold and made considerable progress up the river valley toward Epernay.

The American forces on the Marne front consisted of the Third and Twenty-eighth Divisions, but the Third played the larger part. The American artillerymen, machine-gunners, and riflemen slaughtered the Germans by hundreds as they tried to cross the river under cover of a smoke screen. One determined regiment, the 38th Regulars, commanded by Colonel McAlexander, held its position, although surrounded on three sides, and practically annihilated the 6th German Grenadier Regiment, and took 400 prisoners. In some

other places the Americans were temporarily forced back a little, but they soon counter-attacked, and by noon next day there were no Germans except dead and prisoners on the south side of the Marne along the American front. It will readily be believed that the news that the Americans had not only held their ground but had taken 600 prisoners was vastly heartening to the defenders elsewhere along the Allied line.

CHAPTER VI

WINNING THE WAR

By the end of the third day of battle it was clear that the German drive was making little headway. The hour for which Marshal Foch had long been waiting had come. He saw that here was the chance to snatch the initiative away from the enemy. He proceeded not only to dash the cup of victory from the enemy's lips but to smash it to splinters in his face.

Foch's preparations were already made. At dawn on the 18th two armies commanded by Generals Mangin and Degoutte suddenly attacked the Germans on the western side of the Marne salient. A considerable part of the strength of these armies consisted of the First and Second American Divisions, commanded respectively by Major-Generals Summerall and Harbord. There was no preliminary bombardment,

but the troops advanced behind a rolling barrage, and were aided by great numbers of tanks, especially small swift tanks. Many of the tanks carried not only machine-guns but small pieces of artillery.

Two tanks passing through a wood.

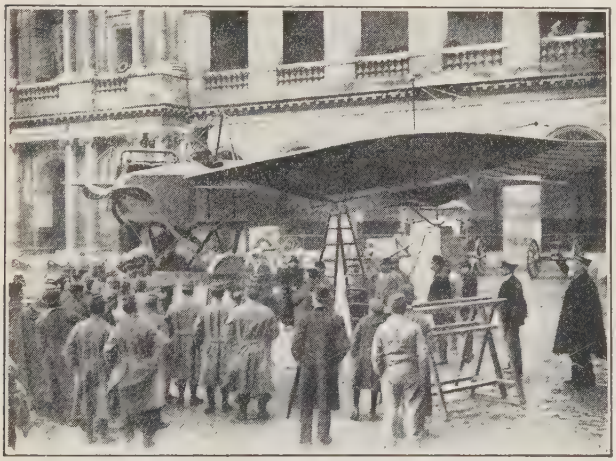
The Germans were taken completely by surprise. On the first day the French and Americans advanced several miles and captured thousands of prisoners and many guns. Foch pushed the attack relentlessly, throwing in fresh divisions as the others became exhausted. Seven American divisions participated in this glorious movement. They were the First, Second, Third,

and Fourth of the Regular Army, and the Twenty-sixth, Twenty-eighth, and Forty-second (the "Rainbow"). The Germans resisted desperately, but they were caught at a disadvantage and were forced back over the Ourcq and then over the Vesle. More than 30,000 prisoners, 700 guns, and vast stores of war materials were taken, while the Germans destroyed much more material to prevent its capture. The First and Second American Divisions alone took 7,000 prisoners and more than 100 guns.

"To make war is to attack" had been Foch's favorite maxim even before the war, and he lived up to it now. On August 8 British and French forces under Haig began a new offensive against the salient projecting toward Amiens. Great numbers of tanks were used, and with relatively light losses the Allies won one of the greatest victories of the war. In less than a week 40,000 Germans and hundreds of cannon were captured. In his book on the war Ludendorff calls August 8, "Germany's Black Day," and he says that after this de-

feat the German High Command lost hope of obtaining victory.

Like a skilled boxer, Foch struck now here, now there, and the Germans were given no time to recover. Late in August



French soldiers erecting a captured German plane in the Court of the Invalides, Paris.

the British under Byng smashed through the Hindenburg Line southeast of Arras, while General Mangin pushed the Germans back from the River Aisne. Early in September the British under Horne breached the strong Drocourt-Quéant switch line on a front of six miles. All along the battle

line, from Verdun to the North Sea, the Allies pressed the Germans hard, and in most sectors American troops played a part. By the middle of September the Teutons were again back at the old Hindenburg Line, from which they had begun their great spring offensive. But their forces were badly depleted, and in the last two months alone they had lost over 2,000 guns, immense numbers in killed and wounded, nearly 200,000 prisoners, and immense quantities of war supplies. Furthermore, the Hindenburg Line east of Arras and the switch line behind it were already broken.

The great military question now was, Could the Germans manage to repel Allied assaults upon the Hindenburg Line until winter weather gave them a respite? This was the only real hope that remained to them. If they could hold this line, they might still obtain fairly good terms of peace from a war-weary world.

Meanwhile General Pershing had been organizing a separate American field-army. It had long been arranged that our first

independent effort should be an attack upon the famous St. Mihiel salient. This salient had been driven by the Germans in October, 1914, and projected to the southeastward of Verdun to the Meuse

A bombing plane about to start.

River, cutting the important Verdun-Toul railroad. For nearly four years it had been a menace to France, and it effectually barred the way to an offensive against Metz. All French efforts to reduce it had failed.

For the task General Pershing assembled

about 600,000 men, mostly Americans but including a few French. The French and British also loaned large numbers of guns, tanks, and airplanes. The plans were laid with the greatest care and no detail was too small to be disregarded. Aware of the storm that was impending, the Teutons began to evacuate the salient but they failed to complete the withdrawal in time.

On the night of September 11 the salient was subjected to a terrific bombardment. Early next morning the infantry and tanks "went over the top." Twenty-seven hours later the salient was only a memory. Sixteen thousand prisoners, 443 guns, great stores of war material, valuable territory were the prizes of victory. Our total casualties were only 7,000. The sound of the blow reverberated around the world. In the words of General Pershing: "The Allies found they had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy learned finally that he had one to reckon with."

The victory enabled the Americans to threaten the great German fortress of Metz

An American Observation Post in the former village of Haudiomont on the front line near Verdun.

From a drawing by Ernest Peixotto, official artist to the American Expeditionary Force.

and the Briey iron-fields, from which the Germans drew much of their supply of iron ore. But these were not the immediate American objectives. Foch had other plans. On the day after the capture of

the salient the Americans began a fresh concentration in front of the German line running from the Meuse River to the Argonne Forest. Twenty-five miles to northward, at Mézières and Sedan, lay the main enemy line of communication between Belgium and northern France and Germany. This was Pershing's goal. But powerful lines of fortifications must first be conquered. The American drive down the Meuse formed one of four convergent and practically simultaneous movements against the Hindenburg Line.

But Foch, the master of all the Allied armies, had the genius to plan victories in fields far removed from the western front. In Palestine on September 19 General Allenby launched a sudden and irresistible attack against the Turkish army under General Von Sanders. The Turkish army was virtually annihilated. Seventy-five thousand prisoners and all the Turkish artillery were taken. The victors pushed rapidly northward and took Damascus, and in the middle of October cut the Berlin to

Bagdad Railway at Aleppo, thus isolating the Turkish army in Mesopotamia and compelling its speedy surrender.

Five days before Allenby delivered his spectacular blow the Allied army in the Balkans under the command of General Franchet d'Espérey began an offensive northward from Salonica. In a few days the enemy's centre was penetrated. Bulgaria, threatened with annihilation, speedily concluded an armistice that was practically a surrender at discretion. This great victory, taken with that of Allenby, insured the early capitulation of Turkey.

The dream of a great *Mittel Europa* under Teutonic domination was vanishing like a mist beneath a hot morning sun. Northward into their war-wasted homeland streamed the victorious Serbs, chasing before them the hated invaders. Soon they stood on the banks of the Danube, and not an enemy remained on Serbian soil save as a prisoner. The whole edifice of the Central Powers was collapsing like a house of cards. The withdrawal of Turkey was as-

sured, and the early re-entrance of Rumania was confidently predicted. Hundreds of thousands of Allied troops in the Balkans, Palestine, and Mesopotamia could now be used in other quarters, either in an invasion of Austria-Hungary from the south or along the Western Front. The submarine campaign, too, was breaking down. Allied construction of merchant ships had exceeded their destruction, while the campaign against the U-boats was so successful that the undersea wasps were rapidly becoming the hunted instead of the hunters. The Teutonic leaders realized that only speedy peace could save them from destruction, and on September 15 the Austro-Hungarian Government, with the secret approval of the German Government, asked for a preliminary discussion of war aims with a view to the calling of a peace conference. But the Allies were wise enough to avoid the trap.

In the last days of September the Allies began the gigantic struggle that is sometimes known as the battle of the Hinden-

burg Line. In Flanders, Belgian and British forces under King Albert attacked on a wide front in the region of Ypres. The German positions were lightly held, and

Laying the keel of a second ship as one is launched at a U. S. shipping yard.

on the first day, with small losses, the assailants advanced far beyond their furthest limit won in 1917 at the cost of hundreds of thousands of casualties. Dixmude, Roulers, Lens, and Lille fell, and in the middle of October the Germans were compelled to relinquish their hold on the Bel-

gian coast and retire toward Brussels, closely followed by the victors. Farther southward the British, aided by two American divisions, the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth, began on September 26 to deliver mighty hammer strokes against the German lines in front of St. Quentin and Cambrai.

The story of this offensive is too complicated to relate in detail here, but it is simple justice to say that of all the great blows that won the war this was the most powerful. After terrific fighting against bitter resistance the assailants broke completely through the German maze of defenses on a wide front, taking great numbers of prisoners and many guns.

The task set the American army in this grand offensive was to advance down the valley of the Meuse and to clear the enemy out of the gloomy recesses of the Argonne Forest. A French army on the west side of the forest was to co-operate in the attack. The region over which the advance must be made was a difficult one, and the Germans had constructed three, and in

places four, lines of defenses. As they were absolutely vital to the safety of most of their army, the Germans could be expected

The Crossroads, Buzancy.

From a drawing by Ernest Peixotto, official artist to the American Expeditionary Force.

to defend these lines with the courage of despair.

The initial American attack was made by three army corps, the First, Second, and Third, consisting of nine divisions. Six of these divisions had never before participated in a battle, and both officers and men would have profited by further training, but the situation was such that it was desirable

that every available force should be thrown into the fight. Nearly 4,000 guns had been concentrated for the attack. Most of these guns had been obtained from the French, and many were manned by French gunners. Many of the airplanes were of French make, and some were manned by French airmen. There were about 500 planes in all, not sufficient to obtain complete aerial control. There was also a shortage of transport and an inadequate number of tanks.

At half past five o'clock on the morning of September 26, after three hours of preliminary bombardment, the Americans went over the top with a yell. The Germans had expected an attack farther east, and their lines were comparatively lightly held. Everywhere the assailants made progress, and for a time there seemed a possibility that the extreme hope of the American commanders that we might break completely through the first German line on the first day would be realized. But bitter resistance at Montfaucon and other places presently held up the advance and enabled

the Germans to bring up reserves. The attack was continued on the next two days against increasing resistance. Montfaucon and other strong points were captured, and in the first three days 10,000 prisoners

An American Battery, reduced to two wounded men, keeping the gun in action until reserves arrive.

From a drawing by F. C. Yohn.

were taken, and gains of from three to seven miles were made. Meanwhile the French on the other side of the Argonne Forest had made excellent progress.

Thus began the bloodiest battle in American history, a conflict that has often been compared with that of the Wilderness fifty-

three years before, though it was much more prolonged and was on a much larger scale.

The Germans flung fresh divisions into the fray, and Pershing did likewise. The Americans continued to press forward, taking many new positions and searching out and destroying machine-gun nests. In the words of General Pershing in his Report: "In the chilled air of dark nights our engineers had to build new roads across spongy, shell-torn areas, repair broken roads beyond No Man's Land, and build bridges. Our gunners, with no thought of sleep, put their shoulders to the wheels and drag ropes to bring their guns through the mire in support of the infantry, now under the increasing fire of the enemy's artillery. Our attack had taken the enemy by surprise, but quickly recovering himself, he began to fire counter-attacks in strong force, supported by heavy bombardments, with large quantities of gas. From September 28th until October 4th we maintained the offensive against patches of woods defended

by snipers and continuous lines of machine-guns, and pushed forward our guns and transport, seizing strategical points in preparation for further attacks."

On October 4 the American infantry again surged forward. Both before and after this date there was bitter fighting in the gloomy recesses of the Argonne Forest, and there and elsewhere the German machine-gunners fought for every foot of ground and exacted a heavy toll from the assailants. But by October 10 the Americans, with French assistance, had cleared the forest and were before the second German zone of defense, the strong Kriemhilde Line.

For weeks the Americans slowly pushed their way forward through this line. The Germans did not remain quiescent, but launched many counter-attacks, some of which were temporarily successful. But the Americans came on again with dogged determination, for they had a "will to victory" that would not accept defeat. Each day thousands fell, and the whole zone of

battle was an inferno of machine-gun fire, shells, and deadly gas. But it was known that the Germans were becoming exhausted, and Pershing, realizing that a quick push and a strong push would be infinitely cheaper in blood than a long-drawn-out struggle, threw division after division into the maw of war.

By November 1 the Americans were through the Kriemhilde Line and began the final advance. After heavy fighting the Germans were again flung back. On the 6th the Rainbow Division reached a point on the Meuse opposite Sedan. In the words of Pershing: "The strategical goal which was our highest hope was gained. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster."

During this Meuse-Argonne battle the Americans had taken 26,000 prisoners and 468 guns. Their own losses, however, had been enormous, exceeding 100,000 in killed, wounded, and missing, or about five times

the losses of the army of the Potomac at Gettysburg.

The total number of Americans killed or mortally wounded during the war was

The German retreat.
From a drawing by F. C. Yohn.

about 50,000. They captured 44,000 prisoners and 1,400 guns, howitzers, and trench mortars.

It will be the final verdict of history that the American army played an indispensable part in the final campaign on the western front, and American supplies and money were also vital factors in the vic-

torious outcome. But in justice to our Allies it should not be forgotten that even in 1918 the French and British did more fighting than did the Americans and suffered much heavier losses. On the western front alone in that campaign the British captured 200,000 prisoners and 2,850 guns. The British losses in killed during the whole war were almost twenty times those of the Americans; those of the French almost thirty times. And in large measure the final collapse of the Central Powers was due to the losses received in the bloody campaigns of 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1917.

By the end of the first week in November the cause of the Central Powers had become hopeless. Bulgaria had sued for peace, and Turkish representatives signed an armistice on October 30. A sudden offensive on the Italian front speedily resulted in the absolute destruction of the Austro-Hungarian army and the capture of 300,000 prisoners and 5,000 guns. On November 3 Austro-Hungarian representatives signed an armistice in the field.

Revolutions took place in Hungary and Austria, and Emperor Charles was compelled to abdicate. In France and Belgium

Major-General Edwards of the 26th Division before a 210 mm. captured German gun.

Belgians, French, British, and Americans were relentlessly pursuing the remnants of the beaten German army, the "rifle strength" of which had been reduced to less than 900,000 men. Foch was on the point of launching with French and Amer-

ican troops a new offensive in Lorraine. An attempt to send the German High Seas Fleet out to give battle to Admiral Beatty's fleet provoked a mutiny. Furthermore, the German "home front" broke down, and revolutionary movements began in various places. The Kaiser and the Crown Prince fled to Holland.

In April the German people exultantly believed that they were about to dictate a conqueror's peace to a frightened world. By the end of September they were frantically eager for peace on almost any terms. The Von Hertling Cabinet resigned, and a new one was formed by Prince Maximilian, of Baden, a man of moderate views as compared with the typical Junker. An effort was made to convince the world that there had been a real transformation in the nature of the German Government.

Acting in accordance with the wishes of the High Command, Prince Maximilian on the night of October 4 transmitted through the Swiss Government to President Wilson a request for an armistice and

for a peace conference. "As a basis for peace negotiations" Prince Max stated that Germany accepted the programme set forth by President Wilson in a speech he had made to Congress on January 8, 1918, and in later pronouncements, especially in a speech of September 27.

In the speech of January 8 the President had enumerated "Fourteen Points" that he considered essential to peace. These were: "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at"; freedom of the seas; equality of trade conditions between the nations consenting to the peace; reduction of armaments; impartial adjustment of colonial claims in accordance with the interests of the people concerned; the evacuation of Russian territory; the evacuation and restoration of Belgium; the evacuation and restoration of invaded French territory and cession of Alsace-Lorraine; readjustment of Italian boundaries; autonomous development for the peoples of Austria-Hungary; evacuation and restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania; the Darda-

nelles to be internationalized and nationalities under Turkish rule to be given opportunity for autonomous development; an independent Poland; an association of nations "for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

In his speech of September 27 President Wilson elaborated this last point and declared that the Governments of the Central Powers had displayed such duplicity that there could be no peace with them "by any kind of bargain or compromise."

For a month the parleying between Berlin and Washington continued. Meanwhile the situation of the Central Powers grew more and more desperate. The Allies had conferred with each other regarding the terms, and in a final note of November 5 President Wilson informed the Germans that the Allies took exception to some of the principles he had enunciated. For instance, they reserved complete freedom as to the subject of "the freedom of the seas," and they also insisted that the stipu-

First American troops crossing the Rhine just after daybreak, over a bridge of boats at Coblenz.

From a drawing by Ernest Peixotto, official artist to the American Expeditionary Force.

lation that "invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated" must be interpreted to mean "that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." This last reservation was very sweeping and was susceptible of very broad interpretation, as subsequent events showed. Most of the remaining Fourteen Points were reasonably satisfactory to the Allies. They were, in fact, for the most part merely a statement of Allied war aims that had existed before America entered the conflict.

The conclusion of an armistice was, of course, rightfully the business of Foch, whose genius had in four months transformed defeat into overwhelming victory. On November 8 German representatives met the Marshal in a railway-train near Rethondes, and three days later concluded with him an armistice to take effect at 11 A. M. of that day (November 11).

The terms included immediate evacuation of all invaded territory, the surrender

of 1,700 airplanes, 25,000 machine-guns, 5,000 cannon, all the German submarines, and practically all the fighting forces of the German above-water navy. The Allied troops were to occupy all of Germany on the west side of the Rhine and bridge-heads at Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne, while a neutral zone ten kilometres wide was to be drawn on the east side of the river.

Fighting continued up to the last minute of time, but at the appointed hour the firing ceased, and the greatest war in the history of mankind was over. There were delays in fulfilling some of the terms of the armistice, but all the essential ones, together with some later imposed, were ultimately complied with. With Allied troops standing on the banks of the Rhine, with much of their war equipment, their U-boats, and most of their above-water navy gone, any renewal of the war by the Germans was out of the question. Germany had struck for "world power" or "downfall," and had achieved the latter.

CHAPTER VII

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Six days before hostilities ended, the Congressional elections took place in the United States. The campaign had been an exceedingly quiet one, for a strong desire existed in both parties to avoid arousing political animosities lest they interfere with our prosecution of the war. In May, in a speech to Congress, President Wilson had announced that "politics is adjourned," but ten days before the election he yielded to the entreaties of Democratic leaders and issued an appeal to the voters to show approval of his leadership by electing a Democratic Congress. The appeal failed to accomplish its object, for it gave the Republicans an excuse to attack the Democratic war record and to accuse the President of inconsistency and undue partisanship. Ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft forgot their

former differences and issued a joint appeal to the country to return a Republican Congress.

In the past in time of war the American people had almost invariably supported the party in power, but this election proved an exception to the general rule. The Republicans won a sweeping victory. Out of 31 Governors chosen, 21 were Republicans. Although only a third of the Senators were elected, a considerable Democratic majority was transformed into a Republican majority of two. In the House the Republicans would have a majority of about 50. After March 4, 1919, the Democratic predominance in the legislative branch would come to an end. There would be critical investigations of the Democratic management of the war, and the Republicans would insist upon participating in the solution of the after-the-war problems.

On November 18 it was officially announced that President Wilson intended immediately after the opening of the regu-

lar session of Congress to sail for France to participate in person in the peace conference. The announcement provoked much discussion, and even some of the President's own supporters, notably Secretary of State Lansing, opposed his going.

On November 29 it was announced that the representatives of the United States at the conference would be President Wilson, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Honorable Henry White, former Ambassador to France, Colonel Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss. Critics of the administration asserted that the President should have taken one or more prominent Republican leaders, and some members of the Senate, to which the treaty would have to be submitted for ratification, felt that that body should have been represented.

The President, Mrs. Wilson, members of the peace commission, and a corps of specialists sailed from New York on the George Washington, a former German merchant ship, on December 4, and reached

Brest on December 13. In France and also in Italy and Great Britain, which he subsequently visited, the President received an enthusiastic and tumultuous welcome. By many of the people in these countries he was regarded as a sort of superman who would solve all their problems. His reception was, however, only in part a tribute to him personally. The homage paid him was in large measure due to the fact that he was regarded as the representative of America, that distant land which had given her blood and treasure to save civilization from Teutonic domination

The opening session of the peace conference was held in Paris on January 18. The victors proceeded upon the assumption that the vanquished should have no part in formulating the terms of peace, and only the victors were represented. Among those present, in addition to President Wilson, were Premier Lloyd George and Foreign Secretary Balfour, of Great Britain, Premier Clémenceau, of France, Premier

Orlando, of Italy, Marquis Saionji, of Japan, Premier Venizelos, of Greece, Premier Borden, of Canada, and Generals Louis

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Crowds assembled in Paris to greet President Wilson.

Botha and Jan C. Smuts, of South Africa. Premier Clémenceau was chosen Permanent Chairman.

The main work of drawing up the treaty was done by the representatives of France, Great Britain, and the United States, and,

to a lesser degree, of Italy and Japan. The smaller nations were allowed little real participation except in matters directly affecting them, but all, both great and small, were permitted to pass upon the completed work, after which representatives of the vanquished were permitted to come to Paris.

Never since the Congress of Vienna in 1815 had a peace conference been confronted by so many complex problems. There was the question of reparation for injuries inflicted, new boundaries to be fixed, new nations claiming independence, punishment for the guilty, preservation of the peace of the world in future—all complicated questions regarding which grave differences of opinion developed.

Some delegates thought that the problem of ending the existing war should first be solved and that the problem of preventing future conflicts should be postponed for later consideration, but, largely through the influence of President Wilson, it was ultimately decided to make the scheme for

safeguarding peace in the future an integral part of the treaty.

The subject was one to which people in

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President Wilson and delegates to the Peace Conference in session at Versailles.

all civilized nations had devoted much thought. The plan ultimately adopted may in a sense be said to have originated in the League to Enforce Peace, which had been founded at Philadelphia in June, 1915,

with William H. Taft as President. Statesmen in various countries had expressed themselves in sympathy with the plan, and President Wilson particularly had become an active champion of the general idea. The attitude of other members of the peace conference varied from enthusiastic advocacy through varying shades of doubt to concealed or open hostility. Most members were rather sceptical as to the success of any plan that could be evolved, but even many of the sceptics were willing to have the experiment made.

After months of discussion and amendment the conference finally adopted a "covenant" based in large measure upon a plan submitted by General Smuts, of South Africa. It provided for the creation of a League of Nations, the chief purpose of which should be "to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war."

The machinery of the League was to consist of an assembly, a council, and a permanent secretariat. The assembly was

to be composed of representatives of the various members, and was to meet from time to time either at the seat of the League, which was fixed at Geneva, or at such other places as might be decided upon. Each power was to have a single vote in the assembly, but five of the British colonies were given membership, so that the British Empire as a whole had six votes.

The council was to consist of one representative from Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan, and from each of four other states to be selected by the assembly from time to time at its discretion. The council might, with the approval of the assembly, name additional members of the League, whose representatives might be members of the council. The council was to meet at least once a year and at other times as occasion might require. At its meetings the council could deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. During the considera-

tion of matters especially affecting the interests of a member of the League not a member of the council such a member should be invited to send a representative.

The permanent secretariat was to consist of a secretary-general and such secretaries and staff as might be required. The first secretary-general was to be named by the peace conference. Thereafter he was to be chosen by the council, with the approval of a majority of the assembly.

The Covenant recognized the desirability of reducing armaments, provided for the mutual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence of members as against external aggression, contained stipulations for preventing war and for submitting disputes to arbitration, established a system of mandatories for conquered colonies, and recognized "the validity of international treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine."

Amendments to the Covenant must be ratified by all the members of the League

represented on the council and by a majority of the other members. No amendment should bind a nation refusing to accept it, but such refusal would result in the nation in question ceasing to be a member of the League.

In settling the terms of peace many serious differences of opinion developed even among the victors. Of these the most serious developed over the disposition of the peninsula of Shantung and of the town of Fiume on the eastern Adriatic. Shantung had been redeemed from German rule by Japanese and British forces in 1914. China, as the original owner, claimed that the peninsula should immediately be handed back to her, but Japan demurred. Ultimately the conference accepted the Japanese view. Japan was to restore the peninsula at some future time, but she was to be given railroad and other concessions, including the right to make a settlement at Tsing-tao.

President Wilson strongly opposed the Italian claim to Fiume, and a quarrel de-

veloped that resulted in the temporary withdrawal of the Italian delegates from the conference. Presently Gabriel d'Annunzio, an Italian poet and patriot, seized Fiume in Garibaldian fashion and held it for Italy. For many months thereafter the dispute dragged along.

On May 7, 1919, the terms of the treaty were finally delivered to the German representatives, who had been summoned to Paris for that purpose. In Germany the cry was raised that the treaty violated the "Fourteen Points" and other principles agreed upon at the time of the armistice as a basis of negotiation, and the document as a whole was denounced as imposing "a peace of violence." The Allies consented to modify some of the provisions but insisted that Germany accept the irreducible minimum. As resistance by force of arms was out of the question, the German National Assembly at last voted to accept.

Under the treaty Germany gave up all claims to her colonial possessions, ceded Alsace-Lorraine to France and a small dis-

trict to Belgium, and on her eastern border resigned much territory to the recreated state of Poland. The port of Dantzic was internationalized, and plebiscites were to be held in Silesian districts to determine

Part of the Sarre Basin.

whether these districts would remain a part of Germany or would unite with Poland. Plebiscites were also to be held in parts of Schleswig to ascertain whether the people wished to be reunited to Denmark, from which they had been separated in 1866. As part compensation to France for the damage done by the Germans to her mines,

the Sarre Basin, with its rich coal and iron mines, was to be at the service of France for fifteen years, under international rule, after which the inhabitants were to have the right to decide as to their political future.

The German army must be reduced to 100,000 men and the German navy to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, and 12 torpedo-boats. The personnel of the navy must not exceed 15,000 men, and Germany must have no submarines. The Kiel Canal was to be opened to all nations, Germany must build no forts to control the Baltic, and the fortifications of Helgoland must be destroyed. The purpose of these and other drastic measures was to prevent Germany from starting a war of revenge.

Germany accepted responsibility for damage done to the Allied nations and agreed to reimburse all damage done to civilians. The total amount of indemnity was to be fixed later, but Germany must within two years make an initial payment of about $5,000,000,000 and must issue

bonds to secure subsequent payments. To make good the illegal damage inflicted by submarines she must turn over much of her merchant fleet and must build many new vessels for the victors. She must restore the devastated regions in Belgium, France, and elsewhere. She agreed that the former Kaiser and other Germans should be tried for offenses against humanity and the laws of war. Holland, however, refused to surrender the Kaiser, and he could not be brought to trial. On the plea that public sentiment would not permit the surrender of alleged offenders that were still in Germany the German Government later obtained the concession that the accused should be tried before a German federal court at Leipsig. Some trials of this sort took place, but for the most part the accused were acquitted or were only slightly punished.

Treaties were later concluded with Bulgaria and Turkey, while Austria-Hungary was completely broken up. Bulgaria was forced to surrender territory and pay an

indemnity. Parts of the old Dual Empire were ceded to Poland, Rumania, and Italy; Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary became independent republics; the districts inhabited

President Masaryk of Czecho-Slovakia signing their Declaration of Independence in our Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

mainly by Jugo-Slavs were united with Serbia and Montenegro into a Greater Serbia. Of the once powerful Austria there remained only a small republic of a few thousand square miles, with a population of about 6,000,000, mostly of German blood. The treaty with Turkey reduced the Sul-

tan's dominions to a small district in Thrace and to part of Asia Minor. An international force was to be maintained at Constantinople; the Dardanelles and the Bosporus were internationalized; Arabia was to be an independent kingdom; Palestine and Mesopotamia were to be under British control; France and Italy were given spheres of influence in Syria and Cilicia respectively; and part of Thrace and western Asia Minor were awarded to Greece. The mandate over Armenia was offered to the United States, but Congress declined to accept it.

Unfortunately, the conclusion of the treaties did not bring peace and prosperity to the world. Wars continued to rage in many places. The Russian Bolshevists endeavored to spread their doctrines to other European countries and even to the United States, and Russia continued to be a pariah among the nations. For a time the Bolshevist programme gave rise to serious apprehension in some nations, but, though there were numerous bomb out-

rages in this country, there was never any real danger that the Bolshevist movement could succeed in the United States. Ultimately Russia under Bolshevist rule fell into such a pitiable state of chaos and

Destruction of a railroad by the Bolsheviki.
From "Trailing the Bolsheviki" by Carl W. Ackerman.

famine that the world outside ceased to have any desire to imitate the Russian experiment.

In the United States a long and bitter controversy developed over the ratification of the treaty with Germany. The main objection was to the League of Nations, which had been made an integral part of

the treaty. To be ratified the treaty must receive the votes of two-thirds of the Senators voting upon it. A majority of the Senators were Republicans, and feeling in the Senate even on the part of some Democrats had come to be very hostile toward President Wilson.

Senator William E. Borah.

Early in September, 1919, while the treaty was before the Senate, President Wilson set out on a tour of the country to rally public opinion in favor of the League. He drew large crowds, but some opposing Senators, notably Borah, of Idaho, and Johnson, of California, trailed him, criticising the treaty and the League,

Senator Hiram W. Johnson.

and they also addressed large crowds. On his way back from the Pacific coast the President had an apoplectic stroke and was taken back to Washington. For months he was confined to the White House and was able to see only a few persons and to transact only the most important business. In fact, at times he was entirely unable to do business at all. Meanwhile the general public were kept in ignorance of his exact condition and even of the nature of his illness.

Ultimately the Senate, in committee of the whole, adopted fourteen "reservations" limiting America's liability under the Covenant. President Wilson bitterly opposed the reservations, and a situation developed which resulted in the defeat of the treaty by a vote of 55 to 39 (November, 1919). This vote was not entirely along party lines, but for the most part the Republicans favored ratification with reservations, as did four Democrats.

When Congress met in regular session in December, 1919, the battle was renewed. As in the special session the main conflict

raged over Article X of the Covenant. This article bound members of the League "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." On March 15, 1920, the Senate, by a vote of 56 to 26, voted the following reservation to Article X:

"The United States assumes no obligation to employ its military or naval forces, its resources or any form of economic discrimination to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under Article X, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose unless in any particular case the Congress, in the exercise of full liberty of action, shall by act or joint resolution so declare."

Supporters of this reservation declared that it merely reaffirmed the Federal Con-

stitution, which reserves to Congress the power "to declare war." But President Wilson contended that Article X must not be amended. Of a similar reservation adopted at the special session he had asserted that it was a "knife-thrust at the heart of the Covenant," and he now said that any reservation that sought "to deprive the League of Nations of the force of Article X cuts at the very heart and life of the Covenant itself." In a letter to his party on January 8, 1920, he declared that the treaty must be ratified as it stood or else submitted to a solemn referendum at the next election. On the other hand, William Jennings Bryan and some of the Democratic Senators were willing to accept a compromise. Fourteen Democratic Senators joined the Republicans in voting for the reservation to Article X, and 23 voted for ratifying the treaty with reservations, of which there were 15 in all. On the final vote, taken March 19, 1920, 34 Republicans voted for ratification with reservations and 15 against, while 23 Demo-

crats voted for and 24 against. The vote for ratification lacked seven of the required two-thirds, and thus the treaty was again rejected. A joint resolution declaring the war at an end passed both houses, but the President vetoed it, and thus the United States continued technically at war with Germany.

During the peace conference President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George had pledged themselves to submit to their respective legislative bodies an engagement "to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany." This agreement was designed to assure France of protection against a German attempt at revenge and to induce her to forego demands for more radical terms, especially for the left bank of the Rhine. The British Parliament ratified the agreement, but our Senate rejected it. In consequence France was inclined to feel that she was left in the lurch.

In February a great political sensation was created by the resignation of Secretary

of State Lansing. President Wilson had requested his resignation and based his action mainly upon the fact that during his illness Lansing "had frequently called the heads of the executive departments of the government into conference," a proceeding the President intimated was unconstitutional. However, Lansing's disapproval of some features of the treaty was the real reason for his fall. Lansing defended his course in regard to calling the Cabinet meetings, and by a majority of the press was considered to have the better of the argument. He was succeeded by Bainbridge Colby, of New York, a former Progressive leader.

Meanwhile the United States had been passing through the throes of after-the-war readjustments. Labor troubles, great strikes among steel-workers and bituminous-coal operators, a bad railway situation, profiteering to an extent hitherto undreamed of, Bolshevist agitation in some regions, extremely high taxes, and general unrest were features of the times. For a

while prices soared to heights undreamed of, and speculation was rife, but toward the close of 1919 the inevitable period of deflation set in, and the country began drifting toward an era of hard times.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RETURN OF THE REPUBLICANS

One of the most notable facts of our recent history is the spread of the prohibition movement. Two States, Maine and Kansas, adopted prohibitory laws before the end of the last century, and by 1913 the number had increased to nine, namely, Maine, Kansas, West Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, and Oklahoma. The total population of these States was about 15,000,000, while 30,000,000 more persons lived in districts made dry by local-option laws. By the end of 1917 twenty-six States had entered the dry column, and in that year Congress enacted a prohibitory law for the District of Columbia, forbade the shipment of liquor, except for medicinal purposes, into a dry State, and submitted to the States a prohibition amendment. As

a war measure President Wilson had prohibited the distillation of intoxicating beverages, and brewers had been ordered to keep the alcoholic content of beer below 2½ per cent. Subsequently Congress passed an act under which the President proclaimed that after July 1, 1919, the country should be "dry" until the end of the war.

By the end of January, 1919, all but four of the States had ratified the prohibitory amendment, which provided that the manufacture and sale of intoxicants for beverage purposes must cease after January 16, 1920. The amendment was therefore proclaimed a part of the Constitution, being the 18th adopted. The Volstead Bill, to enforce the amendment, became a law over President Wilson's veto in October, 1919. Difficulty was experienced in enforcing prohibition in some sections of the country, but upon the whole the law was obeyed more generally than its opponents had predicted. Efforts to obtain a repeal of the Volstead Act and of the

amendment itself have thus far made little headway.

In August, 1920, a Nineteenth Amendment, providing for woman suffrage, was proclaimed a part of the Constitution. As was the case with prohibition, this amendment was the result of agitation continuing through many years. The movement for woman's rights in America may be said to date from the first Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Through the pioneer efforts of such leaders as Lucretia Mott, Mary N. McClintock, Martha C. Wright, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the movement, despite much ridicule, made progress.

Susan B. Anthony.

Gradually statutory discriminations against woman disappeared, and she even began to obtain political rights. In 1869 Wyoming Territory and in 1870 Utah Terri-

tory granted women the right to vote, and this right was confirmed when these territories became States. In 1893 Colorado

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Raising the Woman's Party Ratification Banner at the Suffragist Headquarters in Washington upon ratification of the suffrage amendment.

and in 1896 Idaho entered the equal-suffrage column. Slowly the movement gained momentum, a great impetus being given by the suffragette agitation in England. In 1912 the Progressives declared for suffrage, and leaders in the older parties also began

to "see the light." By the end of 1918 eight more States—Oregon, Washington, California, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Kansas, and New York—had conferred full suffrage rights upon women. In 1919, half a century after it had first been offered, the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" finally passed Congress and was submitted to the States, and after a bitter fight it was ratified by the necessary two-thirds.

Promulgation of the Nineteenth Amendment came just in time to permit the women in all the States to vote in the presidential election of 1920.

At the beginning of 1919 it had been regarded as practically a foregone conclusion that the Republican leader in that campaign would again be Theodore Roosevelt. Since the Progressives and Republicans merged in 1916, he had become increasingly influential in the councils of the reunited party, and to him the leaders turned for advice more than to any other man. He had come, in fact, to possess more influence with the people generally

than at any time since his retirement from the Presidency. Many of those who had opposed him in 1912 had again enlisted under his banner and gave him their enthusiastic support. The history of his influence had been a somewhat curious one. During his presidency he had enjoyed a personal popularity perhaps never equalled in our history, but following his retirement, and especially during the period of the Progressive movement, his influence greatly declined. But his unequalled foresight, his stalwart stand for red-blooded and patriotic Americanism during the days when, in the eyes of many, America faltered in her duty convinced millions that he was a safe counsellor and guide. Millions believed that had he been President in the years 1914 to 1918 the history of the whole world during that time would have been a happier one.

But it was not to be. Tropical fever, contracted on his trip through the Brazilian wilderness, had undermined his once robust health, and he was unable to shake

off the effects of that dread disease. From time to time he underwent operations, and near the end of 1918 he was in a New York hospital for treatment for inflammatory rheumatism. Though often unable to sit up, his mind continued active as ever, and he received friends and dictated letters and articles relating to public questions. He was able to return to his home at Oyster Bay for Christmas, and remained there, seemingly in improved health, though it was clear that he was not himself. To his physical ills had been added in the past year anxiety for his four sons fighting in France, and then had come the tidings of the death of his "eagle" son Quentin. He had borne up under this sorrow with Spartan fortitude, but those who knew him best realized that sorrow gnawed at his heart. In the early morning of January 6 he quietly passed away as a result of a blood clot in his heart. "Death had to take him sleeping," said Vice-President Marshall, "for if Roosevelt had been awake, there would have been a fight."

The world paid tribute to his greatness of mind and soul and to the marvellous achievements of his life, though it was noted that by German newspapers he was classed as one of their most dangerous enemies. His career had, in fact, been one of the most versatile and remarkable in human annals, and as a specimen of the *genus homo* raised to the *n*th power there have probably not been a dozen men his equal in history. After his passing his countrymen began more and more to realize that the inspiration of his career constitutes one of our most precious heritages. For a quarter of a century he fought in the forefront of good causes, giving and receiving mighty blows and exulting in the joy of conflict. No other man of his time preached patriotism and civic righteousness so effectively as he, or taught so many to scorn what is base and ignoble. Long ago it was written that without vision the people perish. Theodore Roosevelt wrote:

"We, here in America, hold in our hands

the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years, and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hope of men."

Rudyard Kipling, the most famous of living English poets, a man singularly gifted in his ability to distinguish truly great men, wrote when he heard the news from Sagamore Hill:

"Concerning brave captains
Our age hath made known
For all men to honour,
One standeth alone,
Of whom, o'er both oceans,
Both peoples may say:
'Our realm is diminished
With Great-Heart away.'"

With Theodore Roosevelt gone, other candidates entered the contest for the Republican nomination. Of these the chief were General Leonard Wood, of New Hampshire, Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, Governor Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, Herbert G. Hoover, of California, and Senator Warren G. Harding, of Ohio.

Among the rank and file of the party General Wood was the favorite, and in the preconvention primaries conducted in many States he obtained more delegates than any other candidate, with Senator Johnson his nearest competitor. Governor Lowden secured most of the delegates of his own great State and also a considerable number from other States. Herbert Hoover had many enthusiastic supporters among the independently inclined in both parties, but few politicians rallied to his support, and he obtained comparatively few delegates. Senator Harding carried his own State over Wood by a narrow plurality but had comparatively little support among the rank and file in other States, though he was favored by many influential Republican leaders.

The Republican convention met in Chicago on June 8. The platform adopted declared: "The outstanding features of the Democratic Administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace. Inexcus-

able failure to make timely preparation is the chief indictment against the Democratic Administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both by sea and land, during the first twelve months of our participation and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes, and artillery, this failure would have been punished by disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. To-day it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living."

Differences existed among Republicans as to what stand should be taken regarding the League of Nations. The platform statement on this subject was much involved. It declared that "the Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world," but it criticised the Covenant of the League of Nations and President Wilson's course

in demanding that it should be ratified without amendment, and pledged the Republicans, if successful, to make "such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace."

The convention contained 984 delegates, and 493 votes were necessary for a choice. On the first ballot General Wood received 287½ votes, Governor Lowden 211½, Senator Johnson 133½, Senator Harding 63½, with the rest scattered among about a dozen other candidates. On the fourth ballot Wood received 314½ votes, and on later ballots Governor Lowden and Senator Johnson also increased their votes beyond their initial strength, but none of the three was able to obtain a majority. Finally after three days of balloting a number of leaders effected a combination that succeeded in nominating Senator Harding on

the tenth ballot. The convention then named Governor Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, for the Vice-Presidency.

Senator Harding was born in 1865 at Corsica, Ohio, and began life as a printer's devil in Marion, Ohio, where he later became the publisher of a newspaper. In 1889 he was elected a State Senator, in 1904 Lieutenant-Governor, was defeated as a candidate for Governor in 1910, and in 1914 was elected a United States Senator. Though long in public life, his name was not associated with any great measures, and his personality was little known to the public at large.

Governor Coolidge was born in 1872 at Plymouth, Vermont. He graduated at Amherst College, and in 1899 began the practice of law at Northampton, Massachusetts. He served in the Legislature and as Mayor of Northampton, in 1916 was elected Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1918 Governor. In the following year he won a national reputation by his energetic handling of a strike of policemen in Boston, and

by his firmness saved the city from rioting and lawlessness.

The men most seriously considered for the Democratic nomination were Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, of New York, Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York, Vice-President Marshall, of Indiana, and Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio. Attorney-General Palmer made an active campaign for delegates, but most of the aspirants did not make much open effort to advance their candidacy. Mr. McAdoo, in fact, disclaimed being a candidate at all. He had, however, considerable strength, being the favorite of railroad workers, and it was supposed that he was the Administration candidate. By his opponents he was on this account sometimes referred to as the "Son-in-Law Candidate."

On the first ballot McAdoo received 266 votes, Palmer 256, Cox 134, and Smith 109, with the remainder of the 1,094 scattered among many other candidates. A long

contest followed. But on the twelfth ballot Governor Cox sprang into the lead, and on the forty-fourth ballot he received the nomination. As his running mate the convention named Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York.

In the making of the platform the main contest was over the adoption of a "wet" or "dry" plank. Despite the efforts of William Jennings Bryan, the convention ultimately decided to omit the subject of prohibition from the platform altogether. Republican Senators were bitterly condemned for opposing ratification of the treaty, and the platform declared for "immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity," but did "not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates."

James M. Cox, the Democratic nominee, was, like his chief opponent, a native of Ohio, having been born at Jacksonburg in

1870, and he was also a publisher by profession, being the owner of the Dayton *News*. He was a member of the 61st and 62d Congresses, and was elected Governor of Ohio in 1912, 1916, and 1918.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, was born at Hyde Park, New York, in 1882, and was a distant relative of former President Roosevelt. He was a graduate of Harvard and of the Columbia University law school, and had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the war.

The Socialist party again nominated Eugene V. Debs, who at the time was serving a term of imprisonment for seditious utterances during the war. A new Farmer-Labor party put in nomination Parley Parks Christensen, of Utah.

The Republicans endeavored to make the Democratic record the main issue of the campaign. They pointed out that in 1912 one of the Democratic slogans had been "Lower the cost of living," and they pointed sarcastically to existing prices,

which were the highest in our history. They said that Woodrow Wilson had talked much of the "New Freedom," and they insisted that it had turned out to be freedom to be plundered by profiteers. In 1916, said they, the cry had been "He kept us out of war," but, they emphasized, only till after election. Now, said they, the Democrats are urging that if they are retained in power they will make all war impossible, but this time the people will not be fooled by such promises.

The Republicans also laid great stress upon Democratic extravagance. They pointed out that in a little more than two years the Democratic Administration had paid out more money than was expended by the National Government from 1776 down to 1917, including the cost of all our other wars, great and small. It had cost, they estimated, more than half a million dollars to kill one German. George Washington, on the other hand, had won our independence with an expenditure of $300,000,000, while Abraham Lincoln had saved

the Union with about a seventh part of the Wilsonian expenditure on the recent war, which, so far as the United States was concerned, was a much smaller conflict than the Civil War. Never before, Republican orators declared, had the world beheld such an orgy of waste, and they described in detail many of the scandals of the war.

The Democrats defended their record but strove to make the question of the adoption of the League of Nations the main issue of the campaign. All the old arguments for and against the League were used again and again in the campaign. Senator Lodge and other opponents of the League were pictured by Democratic speakers as conspirators against the best interests of humanity. Much was made by Democrats of the fact that many Republicans had openly advocated entering the League.

This fact was decidedly embarrassing to the Republican leaders, and they deemed it expedient to handle the League issue some-

what gingerly. In his speeches Senator Harding made it plain that he would oppose entering the existing League, but would endeavor to form a new association of nations. The Democrats declared that to form such an association would be impossible.

President Wilson took little part in the campaign, but he had asked that the election should be "a great and solemn referendum" upon the issue of whether the United States would join the League. However, this issue did not become the main one in the campaign. To most voters undoubtedly the determining question was, Did they wish four more years of Democratic rule?

Most seasoned political observers expected a Republican victory. It proved to be unusually decisive. The Republican national ticket carried every Northern State, and in addition Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Missouri, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona, and for the first time since 1876 one of the States of the "Solid South," namely, Tennessee,

swung from its Democratic moorings and joined the Republican column. Of the electoral vote Harding received 404, Cox only 127. Harding's popular plurality was about 7,000,000.

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President Warren G. Harding.

Warren G. Harding was duly inaugurated on March 4, 1921. His inaugural address was in general an appeal for an era of good feeling, a return to "normalcy," and a policy of non-involvement in affairs of the Old World. At the same time he expressed a willingness "to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference, for counsel, to seek the expressed views of

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Vice-President Calvin Coolidge.

world opinion, to recommend a way to approximate disarmament and relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments," but we would steer clear of entangling alliances and would enter into no commitments to "subject our decisions to any other than our own authority."

The new Cabinet consisted of the following men: Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, John W. Weeks, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Harry M. Daugherty, of Ohio; Postmaster-General, Will H. Hays, of Indiana; Secretary of the Navy, Edwin Denby, of Michigan; Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico; Secretary of Agriculture, Henry C. Wallace, of Iowa; Secretary of Commerce, Herbert C. Hoover, of California; Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis, of Indiana. The Cabinet was generally considered a strong one, and the choice of Hughes and Hoover was especially commended.

The retiring President took up his residence in Washington, and it was announced that he would take up the practice of law. His health continued to be so feeble, how-

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President Harding and his Cabinet.

ever, that it seemed probable that he would never again be able to resume a really active career.

The situation that faced the incoming administration was a discouraging one. The process of deflation, signs of which were noticed before the end of 1919, con-

tinued during 1920, and in the last quarter of the latter year a real collapse came. By the beginning of 1921 newspapers and magazines were publishing articles with such headings as "The Crisis in Money and Trade" and "The Stupendous Fall in Prices."

The crisis was world-wide and represented a reaction from the overstimulated hopes and activities of the year following the war, when prices attained heights that had not been reached during the conflict. Conditions were bad enough in the United States, but they were infinitely worse in Europe. There the nations that had engaged in the war were staggering beneath a tremendous load of debt, and all were burdened by redundant paper currencies. In all wars the temptation to "make" money by the simple expedient of "printing it" is usually so strong that it cannot be resisted, and, once begun, the descent into Avernus is a rapid one. The currency even of Great Britain was so overexpanded that the value of the English pound in

terms of dollars fell far below par. The French franc and the Italian lira fell much farther; the German mark soon came to represent less than a fortieth of its face value; while in Russia so many rubles were printed that they were scarcely worth picking up if found blowing about the street.

During the war and for some time thereafter the United States Government and financial interests in this country had granted enormous credits to European purchasers of American products. But these credits could not be continued forever, and with their discontinuance an inevitable falling off in the demand for American goods occurred. This breaking down in international exchange was one of the most serious facts of the situation. As for the United States, we found ourselves in the novel position of holding most of the world's gold supply, of being Europe's creditor to the extent of fourteen or fifteen billion dollars, yet being faced with a period of hard times. Some nine billion dollars of this debt had been advanced by our Gov-

ernment to European states. Almost nothing of this debt had been paid; in fact, we were obliged to consent that for three years the interest should be allowed to accumulate.

In the fall of 1920 the fall in commodity prices became so serious that delegations of farmers and others began to demand that the Government should extend some form of special relief. One proposal was that there should be a revival of the War Finance Corporation, which had been originally organized for the facilitation of exports. A bill to this effect was vetoed by President Wilson but was passed over his veto. An emergency tariff bill, laying higher duties on agricultural and other articles, was also passed by Congress and was vetoed by him (March 3, 1921), but an attempt to override the veto in this case failed for lack of the needed two-thirds vote in the House.

On call of the new President the 67th Congress convened in special session on April 11. On the following day President

Harding appeared before Congress and delivered a message. On the subject of foreign relations he announced that "In the existing League of Nations, world governing with its super-powers, this Republic will have no part. . . . Manifestly the highest purpose of the League of Nations was defeated in linking it with the treaty of peace and making it the enforcing agency of the victors of the war." Americans would, however, applaud the aim to associate nations to prevent war and preserve peace. He further announced that he would approve a declaratory resolution by Congress recognizing the war to be ended.

Most of the message was devoted to domestic affairs, to a call for retrenchment in expenditures, to readjustment of tax burdens, the passage of an emergency tariff measure, reduction of the high cost of living, and of railway rates and cost of operation, the adoption of a budget system, and other problems.

The establishment of a budget system had long been urged by many persons in-

terested in more economical management of our finances, and Congress speedily enacted the necessary legislation. To the post of Director of the Budget President Harding appointed Charles G. Dawes, a Chicago financier, who as a Brigadier-General had managed purchasing operations for Pershing's army in France.

Among the other measures passed by the special session were an emergency tariff law along the lines of that vetoed by President Wilson, a tax reduction act, an anti-beer law, an immigration restriction act, a veterans' bureau act, a maternity law, a packer's control law, a measure authorizing the lending of $2,000,000,000 to aid farmers and dealers in farm produce, and a joint resolution declaring the war at an end.

This last measure was signed by President Harding on July 2, 1921. Late in the following month it was announced that a separate treaty of peace with Germany had been negotiated. In general this treaty secured to the United States the advan-

tages contained in the Versailles treaty but eliminated the League of Nations. A similar treaty was also signed with Austria. In the Senate these treaties were opposed by the Wilson element of the Demo-

President Harding signing the treaty of peace with Germany.

cratic party, but a considerable number of Democratic Senators decided to support the pacts, and in October both were ratified. On November 12 President Harding formally declared peace with Germany and six days later with Austria.

On November 11, the third anniversary

of the signing of the armistice, the body of an unknown soldier from the battlefields of France was laid to rest, amid solemn ceremonies, in the Arlington National Cemetery. Among those present

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Ranking officers of the U. S. Army and Navy saluting at the tomb of the unknown U. S. soldier at Arlington.

were President Harding, ex-President Wilson, General Pershing, Premier Briand and ex-Premier Viviani, of France, Foreign Secretary Balfour, of Great Britain, General Jacques, of Belgium, General Diaz, of Italy, Admiral Beatty, of Great Britain, and Marshal Foch, under whose leadership

the victory had been won. The day was observed throughout the country as a solemn holiday.

These services formed a fitting prelude

Crowds in Madison Square, New York, listening to President Harding's address at Arlington by means of amplifiers and long-distance telephone wires.

for the meeting on the following day in Washington of a great disarmament conference. This conference was in part the outcome of the submitting by Senator Borah, of Idaho, of an amendment to the naval appropriation bill requesting the

President to hold a conference with Great Britain and Japan, the other two great naval powers, on the reduction of naval armaments. The idea was later broadened to include not only the limitation of armaments but also a consideration of Pacific and other problems. Japan and China and the European powers having Pacific interests were invited to send representatives, and all accepted. The first meeting was held in the Continental Memorial Hall of the building of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, and from beginning to end of the conference the eyes of the world were focussed upon it.

The American delegation consisted of Secretary of State Hughes, ex-Secretary of State Elihu Root, and Senators Lodge and Underwood. Among the foreign representatives were Briand and Viviani, of France, Balfour, of Great Britain, Premier Tokugawa and Admiral Kato, of Japan. Secretary Hughes was elected Permanent Chairman.

The time was opportune for such a meeting. In his welcoming address President Harding truly said that the call was "not of the United States of America alone; it is rather the spoken word of a war-wearied world, struggling for restoration, hungering and thirsting for better relationship; of humanity crying for relief and craving assurances of lasting peace." The staggering burden of national debts alone rendered peoples anxious to escape from the cost of maintaining such great fleets.

Nevertheless, tremendous difficulties lay in the way of success, and comparatively few people were confident of a happy outcome. That success crowned the efforts of the conference was in large measure due to the high character, experience, courtesy, and statesmanship of Mr. Hughes. With a boldness that almost took the breath of the delegates, he proposed that for a period of not less than ten years there should be no further construction of capital ships and that the existing strength of the navies of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan

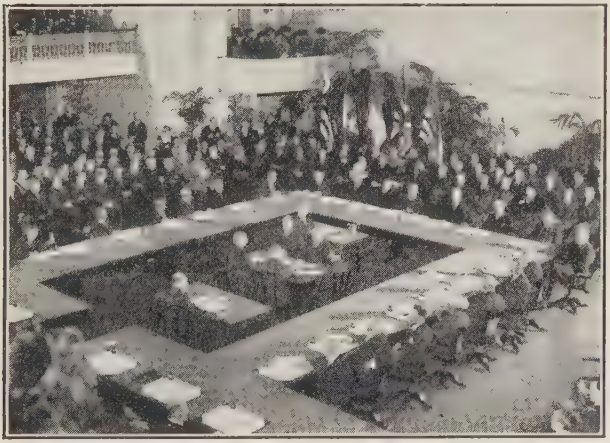
should be greatly reduced by scrapping all the older battleships and all capital ships under construction. It is not too much to say that few speeches as important or effective have ever been made in any country.

During the months that the conference remained in session there were days of doubt and uncertainty, but ultimately not only were the problems of reduction of naval armaments solved but agreement was reached upon the dangerous and delicate Pacific problems that threatened the peace of the world. The chief results of the conference may be summarized as follows:

A five-power naval limitation treaty providing for a naval holiday and for the reduction of the navies of Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy. The ratio of naval strength for these countries was fixed at 5–5–3–1.7–1.7 respectively.

A five-power treaty prohibiting the use of poison-gas in warfare and of the submarine against merchantmen.

A four-power Pacific treaty which replaced and did away with the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Under this treaty the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan



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The Conference for discussion of limitation of armaments in session, November 21, 1921.

bound themselves to respect each other's insular possessions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

A nine-power pact declaring for the integrity of Chinese sovereignty and for equal opportunity in trade—in other words, for John Hay's policy of "the open door."

A separate treaty between China and

Japan settling the long and bitter dispute over Shantung.

An agreement between the United States and Japan for securing American rights in the island of Yap and other former German islands over which Japan had been given a mandate by the Versailles treaty.

In the Senate some of the treaties were opposed by a few Republicans and by a considerable number of Democrats, but all were ratified after a comparatively short contest, though slight changes were made in the four-power Pacific pact.

Meanwhile European affairs continued to be chaotic, both politically and economically, and the full story of the years 1919–22 as regards that continent would fill several large volumes. From the political affairs of the Old World the United States under President Harding attempted to stand aloof, but vast sums were expended by our Government and by private organizations to feed the hungry and clothe the naked in war-torn lands. Diplomatic wrangling between old enemies and former

friends, petty wars, economic ruin, starvation, disillusionment, despair, formed part of the European picture. Repeated conferences of statesmen were held to consider this or that matter, and the terms of the Versailles treaty, especially as regards the payment of reparations by Germany, were repeatedly modified. One of these conferences met at Genoa in April, 1922, and was an attempt to save Europe from financial collapse. An anxious invitation was extended to the United States to attend, but our Government declined on the ground that political as well as economic questions would be considered. Among Americans a feeling was growing that it was the duty of the European countries to compose their differences and work out their own salvation, that America had done her share, that she should be permitted to devote her attention to her own serious and pressing problems.

Happily the worst of the period of deflation in the United States seemed to have passed. In the spring of 1922 a more op-

timistic feeling was perceptible in the business world. Stocks and bonds rose far beyond their lowest levels, the demand for goods became better, and unemployment decreased. Despite many unsolved problems, including a nation-wide strike of coal-miners and a national debt of twenty-four billions (making no deductions for debts owed us by European states), it was certain that the United States would weather the storm.

APPENDIX

I

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Sect. II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made

within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECT. IV. 1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. V. 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such

parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECT. VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECT. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of

both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECT. VIII. The Congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; — and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

SECT. IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to

the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECT. X. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be

for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives

shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECT. II. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECT. III. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be

faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECT. IV. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION I. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECT. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State; — between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the

State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECT. III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECT. III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two

or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Signed by] G°. WASHINGTON,
Presidt and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

CONNECTICUT.

Wm. Saml. Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey.

Wil: Livingston,
David Brearley,
Wm: Paterson,
Jona: Dayton.

Pennsylvania.

B Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robt. Morris,
Geo. Clymer,
Tho. Fitz Simons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouv Morris.

Delaware.

Geo: Read,
Gunning Bedford, Jun,
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jaco: Broom.

Maryland.

James McHenry,
Dan of St. Thos. Jenifer,
Danl Carroll.

Virginia.

John Blair,
James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina.

Wm. Blount,
Richd. Dobbs Spaight,
Hu Williamson.

South Carolina.

J. Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

Georgia.

William Few,
Abr Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary.*

Articles in Addition to and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, Proposed by Congress, and Ratified by the Legislatures of the Several States, pursuant to the Fifth Article of the Original Constitution.

Article I. — Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II. — A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII. — In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. — The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII. — Section 1. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a

President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

Section 2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Article XIII. — Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIV. — Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any

of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

Article XV. — Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI. — *Income Taxes Authorized.* — The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII. — *United States Senators to be Elected by Direct Popular Vote.* — Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Vacancies in Senatorships, When Governor May Fill by Appointment. — Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII. — *Liquor Prohibition Amendment.*— Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX. — *Giving Nation-Wide Suffrage to Women.* — Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this Article.

II

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. — The style of this Confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ART. II. — Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ART. III. — The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

ART. IV. — The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so

far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them. If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State shall flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the States from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ART. V. — For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year. No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. Each State shall maintain its own delegates in any meeting of the States and while they act as members of the Committee of the States. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrest and imprisonment during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on, Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ART. VI.— No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States, in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State or its trade, nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use in public stores a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is

so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

ART. VII. — When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of Colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ART. VIII. — All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.

ART. IX. — The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth Article; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no

treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever; of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land and water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose

names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States; provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "A Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State, and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the

Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled; but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same, nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjourn-

ment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ART. X. — The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ART. XI.— Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ART. XII. — All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ART. XIII. — Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alter-

ation be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

And whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

III

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

THE following preamble and specifications, known as the Declaration of Independence, accompanied the resolution of Richard Henry Lee, which was adopted by Congress on the 2d day of July, 1776. This declaration was agreed to on the 4th, and the transaction is thus recorded in the Journal for that day:

"Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report. The Declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:"

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure

these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

1. He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

2. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

3. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

4. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

5. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

6. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

7. He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

8. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

9. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure on their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

11. He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

12. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

13. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation;

14. For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

15. For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

16. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

17. For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

18. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of a trial by jury;

19. For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

20. For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

21. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

22. For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

23. He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

24. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

25. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

26. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

27. He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to

time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind — enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.	MASSACHUSETTS BAY.
Josiah Bartlett,	Samuel Adams,
William Whipple,	John Adams,
Matthew Thornton.	Robert Treat Paine,
	Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND.

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

DELAWARE.

Cæsar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jun.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jun.,
Thomas Lynch, Jun.,
Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.

IV—PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

	NAMES	STATE	PARTY	YEARS	VICE-PRESIDENTS
1	George Washington	Virginia	All Parties	1789–1797	John Adams
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	Federalist	1797–1801	Thomas Jefferson
3	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Republican	1801–1809	Aaron Burr George Clinton
4	James Madison	Virginia	Republican	1809–1817	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry
5	James Monroe	Virginia	Republican	1817–1825	Daniel D. Tompkins
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	Republican	1825–1829	John C. Calhoun
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	Democratic	1829–1837	John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	Democratic	1837–1841	Richard M. Johnson
9	William H. Harrison	Ohio	Whig	1841–1841	John Tyler
10	John Tyler	Virginia	(Whig)	1841–1845	
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	Democratic	1845–1849	George M. Dallas
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	Whig	1849–1850	Millard Fillmore
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	Whig	1850–1853	
14	Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	Democratic	1853–1857	William R. King
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	Democratic	1857–1861	J. C. Breckenridge
16	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	Republican	1861–1865	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	(Republican)	1865–1869	
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	Republican	1869–1877	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	Republican	1877–1881	William A. Wheeler
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	Republican	1881–1881	Chester A. Arthur
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	Republican	1881–1885	
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	Democratic	1885–1889	Thomas A. Hendricks
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	Republican	1889–1893	Levi P. Morton
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	Democratic	1893–1897	Adlai E. Stevenson
25	William McKinley	Ohio	Republican	1897–1901	Garret A. Hobart Theodore Roosevelt
26	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	Republican	1901–1909	Charles W. Fairbanks
27	William H. Taft	Ohio	Republican	1909–1913	James S. Sherman
28	Woodrow Wilson	Virginia	Democratic	1913–1921	Thomas R. Marshall
29	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	Republican	1921——	Calvin Coolidge

V—STATES ADMITTED INTO THE UNION

RATIFIED THE CONSTITUTION

1.	Delaware	December	7, 1787
2.	Pennsylvania	December	12, 1787
3.	New Jersey	December	18, 1787
4.	Georgia	January	2, 1788
5.	Connecticut	January	9, 1788
6.	Massachusetts	February	6, 1788
7.	Maryland	April	28, 1788
8.	South Carolina	May	23, 1788
9.	New Hampshire	June	21, 1788
10.	Virginia	June	25, 1788
11.	New York	July	26, 1788
12.	North Carolina	November	21, 1789
13.	Rhode Island	May	29, 1790

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION

14.	Vermont	March	4, 1791
15.	Kentucky	June	1, 1792
16.	Tennessee	June	1, 1796
17.	Ohio	November	29, 1802
18.	Louisiana	April	30, 1812
19.	Indiana	December	11, 1816
20.	Mississippi	December	10, 1817
21.	Illinois	December	3, 1818
22.	Alabama	December	14, 1819
23.	Maine	March	15, 1820
24.	Missouri	August	10, 1821
25.	Arkansas	June	15, 1836
26.	Michigan	January	26, 1837
27.	Florida	March	3, 1845
28.	Texas	December	29, 1845
29.	Iowa	December	28, 1846
30.	Wisconsin	May	29, 1848
31.	California	September	9, 1850
32.	Minnesota	May	11, 1858
33.	Oregon	February	14, 1859
34.	Kansas	January	29, 1861
35.	West Virginia	June	19, 1863
36.	Nevada	October	31, 1864
37.	Nebraska	March	1, 1867
38.	Colorado	August	1, 1876
39.	North Dakota	November	3, 1889
40.	South Dakota	November	3, 1889
41.	Montana	November	8, 1889
42.	Washington	November	11, 1889
43.	Idaho	July	3, 1890
44.	Wyoming	July	10, 1890
45.	Utah	January	4, 1896
46.	Oklahoma		1908
47.	New Mexico		1912
48.	Arizona		1912

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